COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

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Submitting Material for Publication

We encourage our readers to consider submitting material on early North American numismatics to *CNL* for publication. In general, this includes coins, tokens, paper money, and medals that were current before the U.S. Federal Mint began operations in 1793. However, there are certain pieces produced after the 1793 date that have traditionally been considered part of pre-Federal numismatics and should be included. We cover all aspects of study regarding the manufacture and use of these items. Our very knowledgeable and friendly staff will assist potential authors to finalize submissions by providing advice concerning the text and help with illustrations. Submissions in either electronic or hard copy format, should be sent to the editor via the e-mail address given above or through the ANS at their postal address. Electronic text submissions should be formatted in Word with separate grayscale images.



After seventeen years of dedicated service to the *Colonial Newsletter*, first as Assistant (February 1993–December 2000) and then as Editor-in-Chief (April 2001–April 2010), Gary Trudgen has decided to step down from his post. Nevertheless, his knowledge of colonial numismatics and his editorial expertise will remain a vital asset to *CNL* as he has elected to continue as an Associate Editor.

I am honored to have been chosen to follow Gary at the helm of CNL since he and the Newsletter were both instrumental in developing my original interest in the money of early North America. I still vividly recall the first time I received a copy of the Colonial Newsletter in the summer of 1997 (as part of a publication promotion by the American Numismatic Society). At the time, I considered myself to be a strictly classical numismatist, but as a general lover of numismatic literature I could not resist perusing the contents. This particular issue (CNL-105) was edited by Phil Mossman and Gary Trudgen and gave me my first glimpse into a world—previously unknown to me—inhabited by FUGIO coppers, Thomas Goadsby, and Birmingham halfpence that could pen their own autobiographies. Amazing revelations!

Since then, I have paid close attention to the coins of the colonial period (in both the United States and Canada). Members of the American Numismatic Society will have seen the fruits of this attention in my regular colonial and early American articles in the ANS

Magazine, pieces in the American Journal of Numismatics, and in the Proceedings of the Coinage of the Americas Conference (2009). Other readers may already know me from my operation of a popular e-group dedicated to colonial numismatics or from recent CNL articles on Wood-33 "blacksmith" tokens and the enigmatic St. Patrick coinage brought to West Jersey by Mark Newby.

But enough about the editor. What you really want to know about is what you can expect in this issue of the *Colonial Newsletter* and in issues to come under the new management.

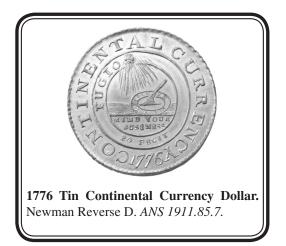
I am very pleased to present *CNL*-143, which I think will have something to interest readers of almost every colonial stripe. Featured in the August lineup are an important new study of NE silver by Jack Howes and two notes on the Standish Barry threepence by R. W. Julian and Max Spiegel that supplement Max's article in *CNL*-142 (pp. 3499–3520).

In addition to this, I am happy to announce the beginning of the serialized publication of the colonial coins in the collection of the American Numismatic Society. Beginning in this issue and continuing in future issues of CNL, readers can expect to find at least four 1:1 scale plates of ANS colonials (usually about 10 to a plate) with full descriptions and brief introductions. The plate series begins with the popular state coppers, but in time will branch out to cover the other colonial coinages in the collection. It is hoped that in time the ANS plates will become an important tool for researchers and collectors alike. Glossy full-color versions of the plates in each issue will be available for purchase from the ANS online at http:// www.numismatics.org/CNL/CNL>. Proceeds from the sale of these plates directly benefit the American Numismatic Society's mission to catalog and publish its colonial coin collection.

Readers should also look forward to the very special 50th Anniversary issue in December, which will include (among other things) a prepublication sneak peek at a chapter from Phil Mossman's much anticipated new book on counterfeits and counterfeiting in the colonial period.

It promises to be a very exciting beginning to the next fifty years of the *Colonial Newsletter*. To this end I hope that readers will take to heart the immortal words of Benjamin Franklin as found on the Continental Currency. Be sure to "mind the business" of learning more about the colonial coins that interest you and of sharing that learning with others in the pages of *CNL*. As Franklin also tells us (again on the Continental Currency), "time flies" and there is no time like the present.

Oliver D. Hoover CNL@numismatics.org



Colonial Newsletter Logo Design Contest

On the tumultuous fourth day of July, 1776, the Continental Congress declared the Thirteen British Colonies of North America to be independent of Great Britain. At the same time, it was decided that the independent colonies should have the usual emblems of a sovereign state. Included among these emblems was a Great Seal, to be used on documents of state as a sign of their official nature. A committee of such notables as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams was formed to consider design proposals. However, the events of the Revolutionary War delayed the decision-making process. A second committee, consisting of James Lovell, John Morin Scott, and William Churchill Houston was formed in 1780 to reconsider proposals, but it was not until 1782, (after the sitting of a third committee, involving John Rutledge, Arthur Lee, Arthur Middleton, and Elias Boudinot) that Charles Thomson, the Secretary of the Continental Congress, took elements from each committee report and developed the now well-known Great Seal of the United States.

These are somewhat revolutionary times here at *The Colonial Newsletter* as well. It is the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of *CNL* and a time of new beginnings as we set out together on the next fifty years, charting paths through previously unexplored territory. Because of this we would like to develop a new logo for *The Colonial Newsletter*—our own Great Seal—to grace the cover of the publication and indicate its status as the premier source for colonial numismatic discussion. Readers are invited to submit their own proposals, which should include an image and the words, "The Colonial Newsletter", as design elements. Additional appropriate Latin mottoes are encouraged, but not required. Perfection is also not a requirement, as the final version to be used on the cover will be retouched by a professional designer. Proposals for the *CNL* Great Seal will be judged by a special committee of the Colonial Newsletter Congress, consisting of Philip Mossman, Louis Jordan, John Kleeberg, John Kraljevich, and Oliver Hoover. We hope that it will not be necessary to organize two further committees before a decision can be reached. The top entries will be published along with the winning design in a future issue of *The Colonial Newsletter*. The chosen design will feature on the *CNL* cover page for years to come.

Design proposals should be sent by email to CNL@numismatics.org or by regular mail to: *CNL* Logo Design, c/o Megan Feneslau, The American Numismatic Society, 75 Varick Street, floor 11, New York, NY 10013.

The deadline for submission is October 22, 2010.

Early Massachusetts Silver — NE Types by Jack Howes; Grosse Pointe Woods, MI

Introduction

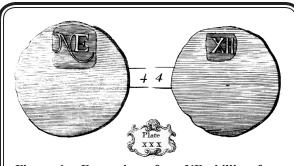


Figure 1. Engraving of an NE shilling from Folkes' *A Table of English Silver Coins*.

Before getting seriously involved in colonial numismatics, I collected some ancients and EAC type coppers and saved a few auction catalogs because they contained colonial coins. One common item in the catalogs I saved was the New England (NE) shilling. This starkly simple coinage (you could even say puritanical) has always interested me. I got much more involved with these coins about six or seven years ago and started collecting images and related data. It is not clear at what point this collection of images turned into an in-depth study of the NE coinage, but in 2003, I created a plate

from some of the collected images while learning Photoshop techniques (See Appendix A). While developing this plate, it seemed as if there was unexplained variation in the images and that there might be a new die variety, but eventually the data led in a different direction. See below.

Clearly, this is an activity in which one thing has led to another, and then to another. For the last several years, I have spent a considerable amount of time in tracking down references to and images of NE coins and in studying the historical background, technology of the time, and early collectors. I eventually decided to try to find every different published image of the NE coinage and every auction appearance even if not plated. Although this is probably an impossible goal, very few new images or other references are turning up now. Now seemed like a good time to stop and use the collected data and knowledge to document some discoveries.

The sources of all these images and references are documented in the annotated bibliography. These come from auction catalogs, numismatic references, and even some magazines. Some images come from public collections, such as those of the British Museum and the American Numismatic Society, as well as from a few private collections. I have accumulated several hundred images of the NE coinage (not counting fakes, forgeries, reproductions, etc.) that vary widely in quality from horrible to high resolution. I have original copies of many recent catalogs, but generally only photocopies of the relevant portions of older catalogs. Interestingly, some of the highest quality images are (other than recent digital images) from nineteenth century plated catalogs. Early photographic illustration tended to be very high quality work! None of the images have been retouched except for the image from the Elder Miller sale, discussed in detail below.

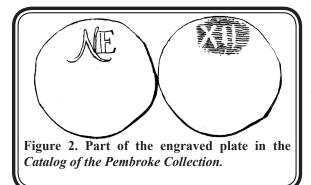
I began this project with the catalogs in my library containing NE shillings and then searched for others. Noe 1943 was a primary reference as was Kleeberg's article on Massachusetts silver in *The Money of Pre-Federal America*. John Adams' books were a good source for nineteenth century and early to mid-twentieth century numismatic auction catalogs. Bryce Brown's website of numismatic catalogs also notes occurrences of some NE coins. These provided good

leads and allowed me to either buy or borrow necessary catalogs, or have pages photocopied. The ANA library was helpful in this way, as were Frank Campbell and Elizabeth Hahn at the ANS library. Several private libraries were consulted. After getting fairly deeply into this I found Andrew Pollack's census of Massachusetts silver. This filled in some later twentieth century sales. Finally, deep searches with Google Books yielded some images from early magazines. Each of the references often led to others, at least early on in the research. One result of these extensive searches has been that I have been able to extend provenances found in references by plate matching and even in a few cases by matching descriptions.

I would have preferred to examine all of the examples in the metal, but the only coins physically examined were in the ANS and several private collections. This is probably unavoidable for anyone who is not located at a top auction house and even then it would probably require a lifetime to handle more than a few of these rare coins.

Most of the metrological data for the NE shillings (see Appendix B) comes from catalogs or other printed references. The data is somewhat uneven as not every catalog gives weights. Some references provide weights in grams. These have been converted to grains, but the original weights in grams are retained in the table in Appendix B. Also, the accuracy of the data is unknown. In some cases there is disagreement between sources and in others, when the data agrees between sources, it is unclear whether an item has been reweighed and remeasured or if earlier information was just copied. When the current owner is known, I have tried to validate the data. However, it is possible something has been overlooked. I would like to hear from anyone who finds images or references not included in this article or who can correct an error. I am also very interested in named catalogs which can help to establish or extend a provenance. Also of interest would be image upgrades (i.e., if you have an image that is better than published in this article please contact me via email at jackhowes@yahoo.com). This work is an ongoing project and at some point in the future I may be able to do an update.

The Coinage



Many books and articles have been written on Massachusetts silver. As the first coins struck in the English colonies in the New World, they hold a fascination that exceeds many other early experiments with coinage for the colonies. This article is focused on the punches (dies), early collections, and surviving examples of the NE types.

The NE shilling, sixpence and threepence were the first coins struck under the authorization of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and were produced over a period of about

30 years. Today the NE types are quite rare. They are far outnumbered by surviving examples of the Oak and Pine Tree types.

The NE types of Massachusetts silver were struck from about September 1652 up until December at least, but possibly into 1653.

The design was very simple: a stylized NE punched on the obverse and a denominational punch of XII, VI or III on the reverse (Figures 1–3), normally head to toe (180°), but with some variability in alignment. In many cases the alignment can be determined simply through close

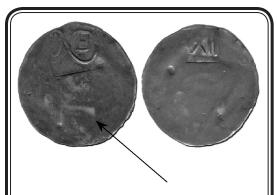


Figure 3. Punch orientation can often be determined from existing images. The outline of the reverse punch is clear on the obverse. These punches are not quite 180°, measured.

examination of good images. The alignment of the punches has been visually determined from images in which the obverse or reverse punch is clearly visible on the opposite side. Using standard tools in Word it was possible to see how far the punches have been rotated. See Figure 3 for a demonstration of this measurement technique. This method of measurement was possible for 36 images. Twenty-one examples are aligned at 180°, 8 more are within plus/minus 20°, leaving only 7 that have more than a minor misalignment. Only 4 of the 15 that are not aligned at 180° have their reverse punch rotated clockwise, while 11 have it rotated counter-clockwise. (There are, however, many fakes that have their punches struck back-to-back with an alignment of 0°.)

The short life of these types has been attributed to the realization of the Massachusetts Bay authorities that the approved design was being clipped and that a more complicated stamping was needed (Figure 4). However, in all of the examples researched for this article, none of the NE shillings, sixpences, or threepences have been clipped. A clipped NE shilling reportedly appeared in a Bowers and Merena auction from the 1990s, but I have been unable to locate such a coin or catalog reference. There are examples of clipped Willow Tree types and several

* 1652, Oct. 19. "For the prevention of washing or clipping of all such pieces of money, as shall be coyned within this jurisdicon, it is ordered by this Courte and the authorite thereof, that henceforth all peeces of money coyned aforesaid, shall have a double ring on either side, with this inscription, Massachusetts and a tree in the centre on the one side — and New England, and the yeere of our Lord, on the other side." — Records.

Figure 4. Text of the Massachusetts Act of October 19, 1652.

that are holed (Willow types seem to be rarer than the NE types. These will be explored in depth in a future article). Many Oak and Pine Tree coins are clipped, holed and/or cut. But only a single NE type has been found clipped, holed, or cut. The only known genuine NE three-pence is holed (Threepence, Specimen 2, below). The general lack of clipping and cutting in the NE series probably indicates a coinage that was short lived and not widely used for exchange.

Judging from the dearth of clipped or cut examples, the relatively high grade of all known surspecimens, and their general scarcity, it is likely that only a very small quantity were struck before the change to the Willow and then to the Oak Tree types. As with other Massachusetts silver, much of the coinage was melted down, thereby adding to its rarity.

Still, there is clear evidence that at least some of the NE types did circulate: an NE shilling was recovered from the wreck of the *H.M.S. Feversham* (Noe 3-C, Specimen 15, below) and an NE sixpence was found in a Long Island field in 1991 (Sixpence, Specimen 7, below).

The NE types seem more like an emergency coinage than one intended for mass production and wide circulation. It would be hard to come up with a more labor intensive method for minting coins. For over 2,000 years the standard minting process had been to use hammer and anvil dies to strike each coin in a single operation. In the case of the NE coinage, however, Hull had to strike each coin twice (once on each side). This required the coiner to flip the planchet over and reorient it accurately for each coin as well as a change of tools between one side and

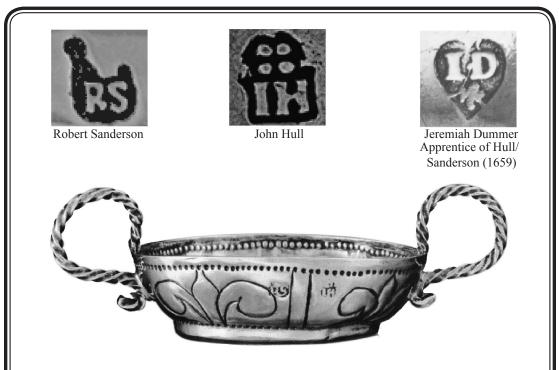


Figure 5. Hallmarks of Robert Sanderson, John, Hull, and Jeremiah Dummer with an example of a silver bowl made by Sanderson and Hull.

the other. This would have been true whether planchets were cut out first or if the stamping was done on a strip. If done on a strip first, less flipping would have been needed and it seems likely that it would be easier to hold a strip. If the punches were applied to a strip first, Hull or Sanderson would have had less alignment difficulties, but registration of the punches in the required space might have been problematic. Since there are only a few examples that have more than a minor misalignment (7 out of 36) and there are many examples of 180° alignment, but horizontally offset (Figure 3, above), it seems likely that strips were stamped and then the coins were cut from the strips. Because of the tendency for the punches to rotate counterclockwise, the person striking the coins was probably right-handed. Either way, the punches were not an efficient strategy for producing a coinage. The method is just what one might expect to be proposed by a silversmith who had never been exposed to minting technology. It is possible that Hull himself proposed this method to the "Courte".

The NE and denominational punches (XII, VI, III) are very similar to the punches used to stamp makers' marks on silverware. Figure 5 illustrates the hallmarks of John Hull, Robert Sanderson, and their apprentice, Jeremiah Dummer. Hull and Sanderson were quite familiar with such marks and with the process involved in creating a hallmark punch. They may have been able to produce the punches without help from other craftsmen, such as a blacksmith, but it is likely that they contracted out part of the work to a skilled blacksmith. One associate of Hull and Sanderson who had the necessary expertise was Joseph Jenks (as with most names of the period, his name occurs with several variant spellings).

The case for Joseph Jenks as the person most likely to have produced the punches has been persuasively developed by Louis Jordan.¹ He says: "Jenks could make steel, case hardened

¹ Jordan, pp. 142–147.

wrought iron and more intricate iron items." I concur with the last two items but believe Jordan is mistaken about Jenks being able to make steel via the cementation process which Jordan describes on the same page. Jenks obtained bar iron (wrought iron) from the Hammersmith works where he was co-located as an independent contractor working as a master craftsman.³ As Jordan clearly demonstrates, Jenks would have known how to case harden wrought iron. However, he would not have understood the chemistry of the process of case hardening—no one did until about 1785.⁴ Heating iron in direct contact with charcoal for extended periods of time steels a layer of the wrought iron (i.e., heating the iron in the presence of charcoal at the right temperatures causes carbon to penetrate the low-carbon wrought iron and produces a thin layer of steel over the wrought iron). Making true steel is, however, an entirely different matter.

The cementation process was known in Europe at this time, but it was a closely guarded secret.⁵ Jenks is unlikely to have been privy to the details of the process. Even those who knew the process did not fully understand why it worked. The main reason why Jenks did not and could not have made steel at the Hammersmith works was that a process that worked in one location might not work in others. No one in North America was able to replicate the cementation process until 1728, when Samuel Higley managed to produce small quantities of steel.6 The steel from this process was known as blister steel, as it typically had blisters on the surface that came from the out-gassing of slag inclusions during the cementation process. It was not a high quality steel. It still contained slag which could weaken small objects made from it (i.e., punches). This process was difficult to replicate in the colonies because of a lack of understanding of the underlying chemistry and physics of the process itself. The cementation process is very sensitive to impurities in the iron ore, which could vary considerably in composition from one location to another. Phosphorus content was the most problematic for American experimenters as it inhibited the diffusion of carbon during the cementation process. No one understood this and bog ore, which was the primary ore available in early colonial times, was high in phosphorus.⁸ Furthermore, the ability to heat the mixture of fuel and ore to the required temperatures for the necessary amount of time without overheating was not replicated with any consistency for 150 years. Overheating would cause the bar iron to melt, or would let in air, causing the bar iron to partially decarburize and become soft on the surface.

Blister or weld steel may have been imported as neither Jenks, the Hammersmith works, nor anyone else in America at this time had the all the requirements and expertise to make steel in this manner. Blister steel was not produced in America until the decade before the Revolution.⁹ While imported steel would have been expensive, it was widely exported to the colonies from Britain and from Europe in some quantity for use in making edged tools.

The NE, XII, VI, and III punches could have been produced from only a few materials and processes: case hardened wrought iron, wrought iron with weld steel tips or, perhaps, natural steel, bloom forged by a master craftsman. Weld steel-tipped dies at first seemed the most likely for several reasons: Jenks was known to have been paid for "steeling axes" and weld

² Jordan, p. 145.

³ Carlson, p. 9.

⁴ Gordon, p. 175.

⁵ Barraclough, pp. 48-54.

⁶ Swank, pp. 379-381.

⁷ Gordon, pp. 175-176..

⁸ Gordon, p. 57. The steel blank for the sword made by Jenks early in his career was probably not created by Jenks himself but by German steel-makers using a much better quality iron ore with low phosphorus content: Carlson p. 4.

⁹ Mullholland, page 83.

¹⁰ Carlson, p 10.

steel is known to have been exported to the colonies. Axes are somewhat similar to dies in that they take a pretty severe beating during normal use.

Case hardening only creates a thin layer of steel which is probably good enough for some cutting tools, like knives, but ones that take a beating would have benefited greatly from a thicker layer of steel. Thus, there was a trend in this period for many edged tools to have added weld steel edges.

The failure patterns of the punches seems to argue against weld steel. In particular the break through the E and leg of the N on all obverse dies appears like an improperly forged fold in the underlying metal created by bloom forging. The second appearance of this kind of failure is on the D reverse. What was originally described as a double strike looks more like another planar failure. Two of the four D reverses (Noe 1-D, Specimens 2 and 4, below) also show that this failure is not a double strike.

Jenks would have had to anneal (soften) the punch blanks before the engraving was done.

Most likely either Hull or Sanderson engraved the punches prepared by Jenks. Circumstantial evidence seems to favor Hull, as the original drawings are attributed to him. Sanderson resided in Watertown during the summer of 1652; there is no evidence he was in Boston until he signed his oath of office as a mint master on August 19 (just a little over a week before the mint opened on September 1). He did not attend the mint meetings in June. Both men would certainly have had the graving tools. Hull had a much shorter apprenticeship and probably was not as skilled as Sanderson. Stylistic evidence from handwriting and other engraving work would be useful for assessing their skills. Many examples exist of Hull's clear, but inelegant, handwriting. Unfortunately, few, if any, examples of Sanderson's handwriting are known and none have been seen by this writer.



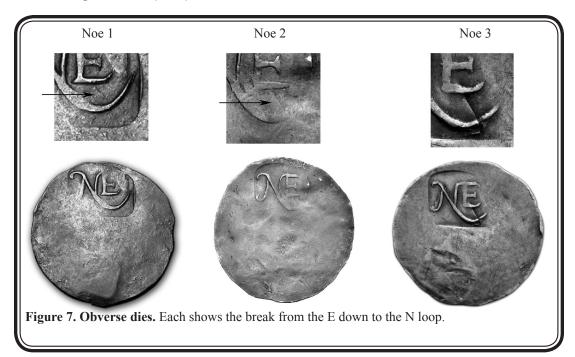
Figure 6. Hallmark of John Edwards.

Clearly, the initial NE engraving was done by a skilled artisan and not a blacksmith—it is too good. The design is elegant and finely executed. From studying the silverwork of both these men and their apprentices its clear that raised letters on a sunken background were preferred by Hull and Sanderson for their hallmarks. This style of hallmark was also taught to their apprentices (Figure 5, above). Note also the hallmark of John Edwards (Figure 6), an apprentice of Jeremiah Dummer who worked as a Boston silversmith from 1671 to 1746: it has a strik-

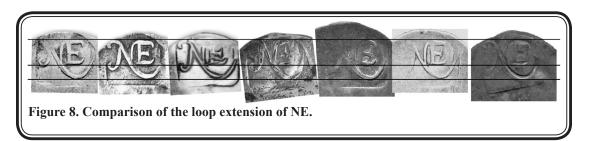
ing resemblance to the NE punch used for the obverse of both the sixpence and threepence. Neither the hallmark of Hull or of Sanderson show the simple elegance of the NE cartouche. Until further evidence is found, the presumption must be that Hull engraved the dies.

Once engraved, the punch die would have been hardened and then tempered. These skills are much more likely to have been possessed by Jenks, than by Hull or Sanderson. Therefore, it likely that Jenks finished the punches after they had been engraved.

The Shilling Punches (Dies) — Obverse



After examining all of the images in detail, it appears that there are not three individual obverse dies, but one single die that was reworked at least three times in a major way and likely more times in minor ways. The key was finding an image of a Noe 1 that showed the same failure through the bottom serif of the E to the N in a very early state (Figure 7).



After assembling images of many different specimens of the Noe 1 NE shilling, I made a comparative analysis of the die strikes. While examining the obverse NE impressions I noticed several variations in the lettering that seemed to indicate more than one punch was employed. For instance, on the first specimen in Figure 8 (Noe 1-A, Specimen 1) the bottom loop on the left stroke of the N is aligned with the lower stroke of the E. Note how they both sit on the imaginary center line. However, on the second specimen, the loop of the left stroke of the N clearly descends below the middle line. The images of the first example are fairly high resolution, allowing for extensive magnification; no obvious tooling can be detected, leaving one to suggest the possibility that at least part of the punch was recut at this point in time. The third, fourth, and fifth specimens show further variations in the position of this loop. Some can be attributed to double strikes but others cannot be explained this way. However, based on later analysis, this can not be a case of the Noe 1 die being recut at this point. At the moment there is no explanation for what is seen on Noe 1-A, Specimen 1, other than to say that metal was moved in a clever way.

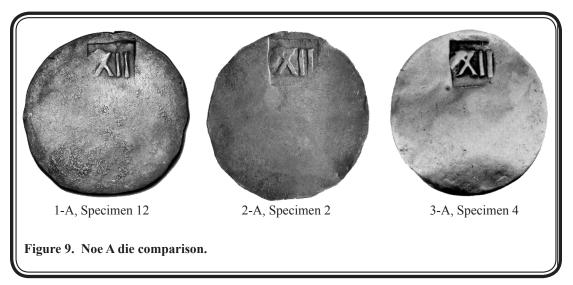
These observations led to a detailed analysis of all the NE obverses: Noe 1, Noe 2, and Noe 3. One of the main diagnostic features of the Noe 3 is the die break from the middle of the bottom serif of the E diagonally downward to the final large loop of the N. As I collected images of various specimens, I also noticed this break on Noe 2, but fainter. It seemed odd that another die could have a similar break in about the same place. I searched the literature to see if this had been pointed out. Hodder documents diagnostic features for all three dies in the Hain and Ford catalogs but does not mention this. I did a Photoshop overlay to convince myself that it was in the same place. It was very close, but the break seemed to be moving slightly to the left. I attribute this to the break being a fault plane, rather than orthogonal to the die/punch axis. I tentatively concluded that Noe 2 and Noe 3 were the same die, but recut. This led me next to look closely for the same break on the Noe 1 images. At this point in my research I could not see a clear break on any of the images, but I thought I could see something on a few. It took quite a while for me to find an image of a Noe 1-A with a clear break. I found what I was looking for in a Smithsonian image of one their NE shillings (Figure 7, above). The break is quite clear in this image.

The failure can not be seen on all of the Noe 1 images collected. This is likely an artifact of the resolution (or rather lack thereof) of the images (i.e., Noe 1-A, Specimen 13, which until recently was thought to belong to the beginning of the emission, is a good example of how deceptive seemingly good images can be). Until recently, the only image I had of Noe 1-A, Specimen 13 was from the Mills catalog. On a visit to Eric Newman after this article was submitted for editing, I found that Eric's collection contained this coin and was able to examine and photograph it. Looking at the coin, I saw immediately that it too had this break, although the Chapman image from the Mills catalog shows absolutely no sign of it. Chapman images are about the best you can find. However, in my digital image, the break is reasonably clear (see Noe 1-A, Specimen 13 with Figure 18, below). It is possible, and I think likely, that all Noe 1s will show this line break if examined in the metal. The Mills coin must have been one of the first struck since the reverse break does not yet impact the arm of the X, but can be seen as a swelling of the die.

The conclusion at this point (until more Noe 1s can actually be examined) is that there may be some Noe 1s without a break, but it is present on most of the Noe 1 obverses. The break then grows on Noe 2 obverses and is even more prominent on Noe 3 obverses, where it cuts through the N.

This finding demonstrates that there were not three different obverse punches, as has been generally assumed, but rather that there was just one obverse punch that was significantly lapped and recut twice (as Noe obverses 2 and 3). It also underwent several minor retoolings during its life. Thus the apparent diversity of the NE obverses is, in fact, produced from a single punch.

The line-like break is probably a deep fold that was never sufficiently melted when the metal for the punch was being worked in the forge. The use of a single obverse die also has other implications (i.e., all Noe 2-As must have a later die state of the A reverse and likewise all Noe 3-As must have a later die state than Noe 2-As). When this occurred to me I checked and found potential violations of this rule (see Figure 9, below, showing Noe 1-A [Specimen 12], Noe 2-A [Specimen 2], and Noe 3-A [Specimen 4]). It appears that the reverse die state is earlier on the Noe 2-A and Noe 3-A, but how could this be if there is only one obverse die that has been recut several times? There is no obvious answer. I think this is a case of being deceived, partly by strike, partly by wear and tear on the coins over time, and partly by images again. The Noe 3-As are likely of a later die state than the images show and would have to be examined in the metal and photographed with high resolution to ascertain this. On the other



hand, the Noe 1-A is likely not as late a die state as it seems due to pattern of wear and/or how it has been handled over the years. The Noe 2-A is an ANS coin and the image seems good. This coin should be examined closely and compared with the 1-A example.

Three Noe 1-D coins appear to show the break and the fourth does not. The fourth 1-D is a new discovery (Specimen 4). The coin is owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I found an old image of this coin from around the time it was donated. It is clearly a 1-D and demonstrates the catastrophic failure of the D. Cataloguers had noted an apparent double strike on the Chaloner 1-D (Specimen 2), but the Metropolitan 1-D shows that this feature is actually damage caused by an almost complete failure of the punch. I suspect that the Metropolitan coin will show the obverse break since 1-Ds that were struck earlier (without reverse failure) seem to show it. If all of the 1-As are eventually shown to have the obverse break then the 1-Ds should be placed first in the series.

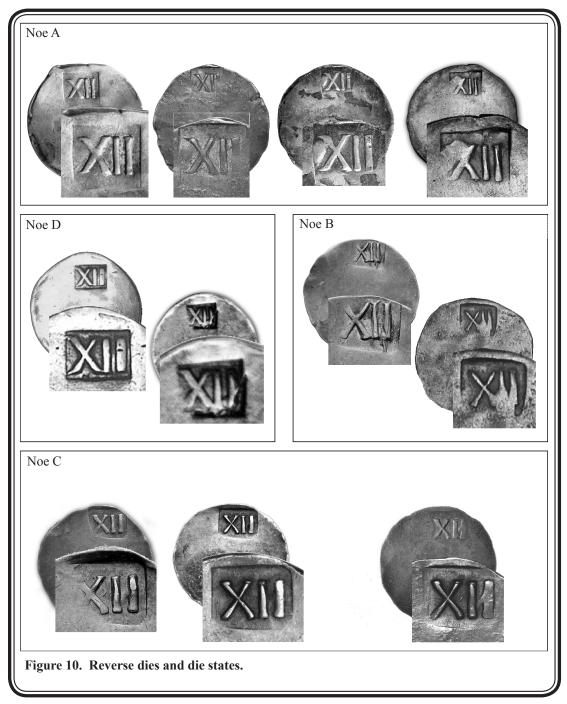
The Shilling Punches (Dies) — Reverse

Is it possible that there is only one reverse punch also? The four Noe reverses all fail in different ways, so there is no question that there are four reverse punches. There is a clear progression of failure on each one.

The Noe A reverse seems to begin life in decent shape, but fails very quickly in the field to the left of the X. The die begins to sink and eventually obliterates the upper left arm of the X. The damage almost reached the diagonal running from the lower right to the upper left before the punch was retired. This failure sequence is shown in Figure 10, below. The earliest die states appear on the left and the latest on the right. There are many more examples of the late die state than there are of the early die state. Furthermore, all of the early die state specimens (arm of X not impacted) are Noe 1-As.

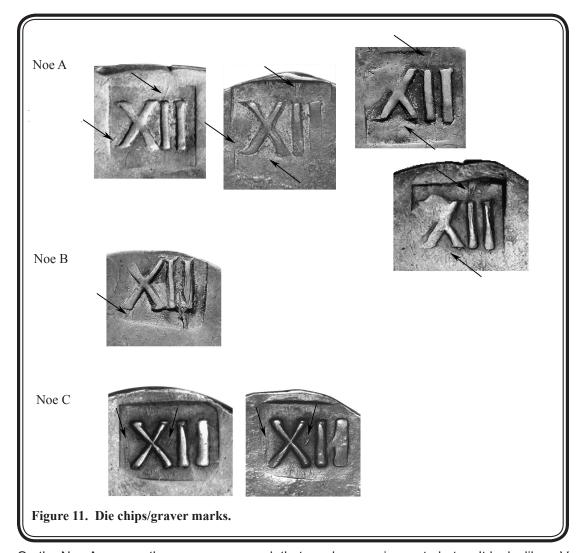
The Noe B reverse seems to have started out life with a chip from the bottom of the second I to the edge of the punch. This failure eventually blooms, but late die state examples are rare.

The C reverse held up better than all of the others. Perhaps this was the last one made and some improvements in production and use technique had occurred. It too developed a failure running from the last I into the space between it and the preceding I.



Based on a rarely seen image (Noe 1-D, Specimen 4), it is now clear that reverse D failed quickly. What was first believed to be a double strike turned out to be a shear failure in the die.

The reverse punches have a number of fine markings that may be either die chips or possibly graver marks (Figure 11, below). Some of these marks are visible in run-of-the-mill images while others are only clearly visible on very high resolution images. Some of the fine detail can only be seen by examining the coins in the metal. All of the markings labeled in Figure 11 exist on all die states and do not seem to change much if at all.



On the Noe A reverse there appears a mark that can be seen in most photos. It looks like a V above the first I with the left arm almost vertical. On some photos the left arm of the V is barely visible if it can be seen at all. Another mark is to the left of the lower left leg of the X, near the edge of the punch. This looks like a chip from the punch and is easily seen on early die state A reverses. It can also be seen on some of the later die state reverses where the punch has sunk into the upper left leg of the X and spreads toward the lower left leg. On the A reverse there are also two roughly parallel marks (likely graver marks) below the X. These can be seen on any die state A reverse that is struck up in that area.

There are several marks on the B reverse below the left leg of the X. These are easily seen on many images.

There is a very distinctive mark between the X and the first I on the C reverse. On a good image the mark looks like a miniature X. Also there are a series of fine marks to the left of the X that can be seen on many images.

How do we explain that there are four reverse punches and only one obverse? First, the D reverse and the first state of the obverse were in use at the same time, so clearly two reverses

had been made for the obverse to begin with. B was used only for a short period. Possibly the D reverse was ground completely down and turned into B. When A was clearly failing, C appeared. C could have been made from D/B as well. Thus, it is possible that there were only two reverse dies and one obverse.

The New England Sixpence and Early Collectors

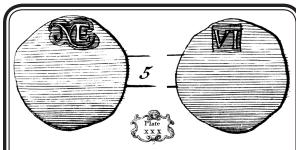


Figure 12. Engraving of an NE sixpence from Folkes' *A Table of English Silver Coins*.

The NE sixpence has always been an elusive coin. There is only one set of dies that is recognized as genuine. This alone would have limited the output considerably. Further, this same obverse die was also used for the threepence. Probably very few coins were actually struck and much of the original mintage may well have been melted. Only a handful has survived to this day. It is extremely rare for a new example to surface, but it does happen (see Sixpence, Specimen 7, below).

There are many counterfeit sixpence. Most of these are easily detected but there are some that have caused significant confusion.

The first published mention of the NE types of Massachusetts silver was by Ralph Thoresby in 1714 in his *Ducatus Leodiensis* (Figure 13).¹² Thoresby was an antiquarian, who along with John Sharp, Archbishop of York, and the Earl of Pembroke, Lord High Admiral of the Royal Navy, were early coin collectors. Thoresby had his pick of old coins, as the great recoinage of the 1690s had reduced their circulating value to bullion content (Figure 14, below).¹³ During the recoinage, old hammered silver coins were accepted by the mint at face value, even when badly clipped. This led to large-scale clipping by the public and meant that Thoresby probably did not find much high-grade material.

XIIⁿ 3 dwts. 17 gr. 380. A † round Plate of Silver, hath nothing but XII stamp'd at the Edge of one Side, and NE at the contrary Edge of the other. Perhaps it was of *Newark* before the Lozenge Money. 2 dwts. 22 gr.

* Aberystwith? † A North-Easter. Plantation Money.

Figure 13. Description of the NE shilling in *Ducatus Leodiensis*.

In *Ducatus Leodiensis*, Thoresby only catalogues his NE shilling with no mention of an NE sixpence.¹⁴ He does, however, mention that the NE shilling is struck head-to-toe. The footnote and the weight may have been added in the second edition of this work (1816). The catalog was issued with the NE shilling identified as a possible Charles I siege piece Newark, but this was corrected by the Earl of Pembroke soon thereafter.¹⁵ In 1726, Stephen Leake, ignorant of the

¹² Thoresby 1714.

¹³ Atkinson 1885, p. 362

¹⁴ Thoresby 1816, p. 77.

¹⁵ Thoresby 1886, p. 246.

In the year 1695 the state of the current coin was the subject of long debates in Parliament, which resulted in the recall of the old coin, and its replacing by new coin milled, not hammered, £1,200,000 being voted to make good the loss upon worn and clipped money. The old coin was to be sent into the Exchequer by degrees, for public payments, or in loans. There was much in an operation of this sort to interest Thoresby, who, when in York on the 11th of May 1697, visited "the Mint in the Manor to see the new milled-money coined;"† and on the 31st of the same month he spent the whole day "at Cousin Milner's looking over several thousand pounds of old hammered money, collected for this years Capitation Act." It was a fine opportunity for a coin collector; "found," he concludes, "some old pieces to complete my collection."

Figure 14. Description of how Ralph Thoresby built his collection.

correction, restated that the NE shilling was a possible Newark siege piece.

By 1745, Martin Folkes knew of both NE shillings and sixpence. He published the first illustration of the latter (Figure 12, above). Folkes was an English antiquary, member of the Royal Society, and numismatic author. Folkes engraved XLII (42) plates for his book on English silver coinage. The NE coins are on plate XXX (30).

Comparing this engraving to an actual coin, Folkes' work is very accurate down to fine detail. He also had the nominal weight right at 36 grains. He did not, however, note that these were stamped head-to-toe. How did he know the weight? It is fairly clear that he either had his own collection or had access to a collection that contained a genuine NE sixpence. At this point in time, there were several collections in England that contained Massachusetts silver coins. The Pembroke and Thoresby collections both contained NE shillings by 1714. While both of these collectors had died (Thoresby in 1724 and Pembroke in 1733), both collections were still intact when Folkes published his work and could have been the source for Folkes engravings. With some help from Eric Newman, I was able to determine that Martin Folkes did indeed have an impressive collection of his own. He purchased an NE shilling and sixpence from the first known auction of these types. They were catalogued as Newark siege pieces and included in a group lot of siege pieces in an auction of the Earl of Oxford's collection in 1741 (Figure 15).¹⁶ It was quite a bargain by today's standards—7 Newark items and the two NE coins for 2 pounds, 5 shillings, or 5 shillings for each item in the lot. Folkes' collection was eventually sold by Abraham Langford in 1756 in the second known auction appearance of these coins.¹⁷



Lot A Shilling with NE VII.

Sixpence with NE VII.

Two Carlifle Shillings of 1645, but different

Lot 50

Figure 15. Description of the NE shilling and sixpence in the sale of the Earl of Oxford's collection. With notation of their sale to Martin Folkes.

¹⁶ Cock 1741.

¹⁷ Folkes 1756.

Thomas Hutchinson, Boston merchant and later governor of Massachusetts, sent a correspondent in England, a Mr. Jackson (probably Richard Jackson, a friend and frequent correspondent), both an NE shilling and sixpence in 1761. Hutchinson was the last royal governor of Massachusetts and was deeply involved in the events leading up to the Revolutionary War.

Thomas Hollis (1720–1774) of Lincoln's Inn is another early collector and very interesting character. He was a champion of civil and religious liberty, particularly in America. On 5 October, 1783, Benjamin Franklin described him as a "good citizen of the world, and faithful friend of America." Hollis was a very wealthy English eccentric who tended to work secretly and anonymously.

Hollis was a born collector and bibliophile. He was an early and probably the greatest supporter of the Harvard College Library. To this day, the Harvard Library catalog is known as the Hollis catalog. When the library burned in 1764, destroying all but a few volumes, Hollis immediately began shipping books to rebuild the library. Over the next decade he supplied thousands of books.

In 1767 Hollis wrote to Rev. Andrew Elliot of Boston and Harvard, asking him to try to find various coins, including a New England sixpence. Elliot wrote back that he would look for them. It took him five years to find an NE sixpence, which he forwarded to Hollis along with a note in 1771.

Hollis died a few years later, well before the American Revolution. He had no family and his estate, including his collection, passed to his friend, Thomas Brand, who consequently changed his name to Thomas Brand Hollis.

Thomas Brand Hollis was also active in the same way Thomas Hollis had been with respect to America. He met with many of the leaders of the American Revolution, including Jefferson and Franklin. Franklin personally sent him a *Libertas Americana* medal (Figure 16).

After Thomas Brand Hollis died in 1817, the collection was auctioned by Sotheby's.

TO THOMAS BRAND HOLLIS.

Eulogium of Thomas Hollis.

Passy, 5 October, 1783.

SIR,

I see Mr. Hollis had a collection of curious medals. If he had been still living, I should certainly have sent him one of the medals that I have caused to be struck here. I think the countenance of my Liberty would have pleased him. I suppose you possess the collection, and have the same taste. I beg you therefore to accept of one of these medals as a mark of my respect, and believe me to be, with sincere esteem, &c.

B. Franklin.

Figure 16. Text of the letter accompanying the *Libertas Americana* medal given by Benjamin Franklin to Thomas Brand Hollis.

3

81 Shilling of New England, and the Masathuset's shilling and six-pence of the coarse work.

Figure 17. Description of the NE shilling in the Leigh & Sotheby auction of the Richard Southgate collection.

The third known auction appearance of any of the NE types is in the Leigh & Sotheby auction of the library and coins of Rev. Richard Southgate in May of 1795. This sale included an NE shilling. Richard Southgate was Assistant Keeper of Medals for the British Museum (among other positions he was also Curate of St. Giles in the Fields). This is likely also the first auction appearance of a Willow Tree shilling and sixpence; referred to in the lot description as "coarse work" (Figure 17).

New England Threepence

If the NE sixpence is elusive, the threepence is practically unknown, even though it has been listed in the *Red Book* and other similar works for most of the nineteenth century. Only two have ever been authenticated and one of those disappeared long ago. The sole remaining example is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society and they do not take it out to play very often.

Acknowledgements

This article would not be possible with the help of a number of people, organizations and firms. Lou Jordan provided many helpful suggestions as did Oliver Hoover. It was a pleasure to work with them. Thanks to Roger Siboni, Syd Martin, and Eric Newman for access to their collections and their knowledge of NE silver. Stack's and Bowers & Merena were helpful with the use of many images from their auctions. Thanks to the British Museum for access to their collection and the use of their images. Elizabeth Hahn and Frank Campbell were especially helpful with material from the ANS library. And finally I would like to acknowledge the ANS for their support of this project with images from the collection and from past ANS publications.

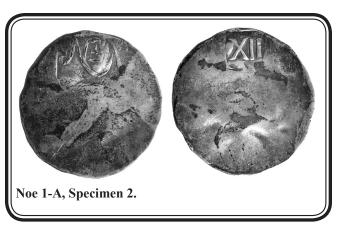
Catalog of NE Silver

New England Shilling Noe 1-A

1. Würtzbach 1937 (No. 3); Noe 1943 (Plate I, no. 1); Ford XII 2005 (Lot 1). Weight of 71.9 grains. Hodder in Ford XII misattributed the provenance of this coin to Newcomber & Groves (S. H. Chapman auction). The Groves coin is clearly a different specimen (see Noe 1-A Specimen 7. below). The cartouche on the obverse of this example is right to the edge, while it is clearly not on the Groves coin. On the reverse the cartouche is clearly not to the edge of this coin, but on the Groves coin it is right at the edge. Noe recorded the weight as 71.3 grains. Hodder has it as 71.9. Hodder seemed to think the difference was attributable to the better accuracy of digital scales. I am inclined to write it off as a mistake or a calibration error. The



obverse is double struck and the left leg of the N is abnormally short which may be due to the double strike. However, this could also be tooling as the shape of the curl does not match other examples. Hodder has pointed out that the lower right arm of the X has been recut. Ex Dewitt Smith; Virgil Brand; Carl Würtzbach; T. James Clarke, John J. Ford.



2. ANS (Inv. 1911.85.2); Noe 1943 (Plate 1, no 2). Weight of 70.3 grains. Diameter of 30mm. Double striking has affected the obverse E, but still the design is fully and sharply struck up on both sides. There is no sign of recutting on the obverse or reverse. This coin is very high grade. Ex William B. Osgood Field.

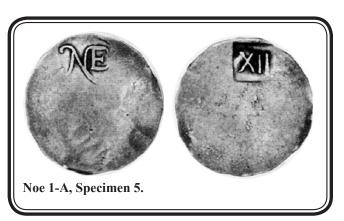
3. Chapman 1885 (Lot 514); Kleeberg 1992 (No. 1). Weight of 69.6 grains. Diameter 29mm (Chapman 18½). One of few examples with the design completely struck up on both sides and with the reverse in an early die state. Ex J. H. Judd; W. J. Wild; Norman Stack.





4. Sotheby 1972 (Lot 162); Kriesberg/Cohen 1973 (Lot 444); EAN 1984 (Lot 3). Weight of 70.2 grains (4.547 grams as measured by Eric Newman). Specific gravity of 10.36. Medium grey-gold toning. Very deceptive casts made from this example exist. See Newman 1979, for full discussion of these copies. One was offered as genuine coin in the Brannigan 1978 auction, but it was withdrawn before the sale.

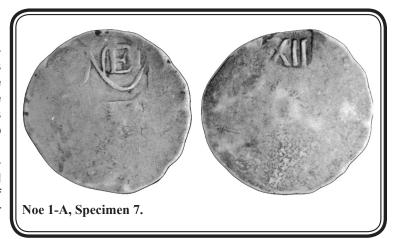
5. NERCA 1975 (Lot 363); Kagin 1982 (FPL). Bought from Richard Picker in the 1950s, probably by the consignor to the NERCA auction. A very round example. The NERCA catalog indicates this example was finer than any other they had seen or knew of, but then the catalog also indicates many other NE shilling examples are "holed, clipped, bent and otherwise mutilated." I have never seen a single NE shilling that was holed or clipped. Many, however, do have bends.

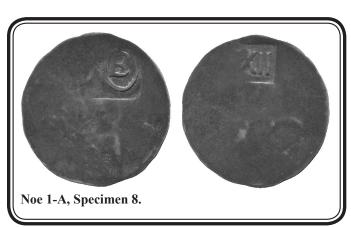




6. Central States 1957 (Lot 1), Oechsner 1988 (Lot 927). Weight of 70.1 grains. This almost round example is fully struck up on both sides. Pale color. According to Hodder in Ford XII this coin has been cleaned at some point in the past. Ex Herbert Oechsner.

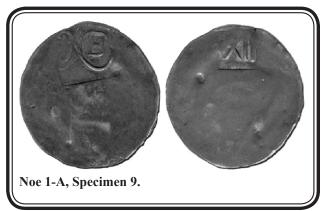
7. Zabriskie 1909 (Lot 1); Groves 1912 (Lot 276); ANA 1955 (Lot 1422). Hodder wrongly identified this as the Ford coin. The reverse is a late die state, as is Noe 1-A, Specimen 1, but this example does not seem to have a recut leg of the X. Also note the differing placement of the cartouches and the difference in the leg of the N. Ex Waldo Newcomer and Col. E. H. R. Green.

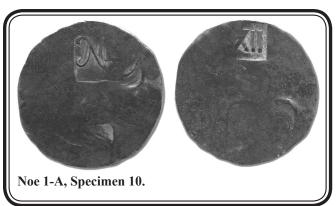




8. British Museum (Inv. BM E4148). Weight of 70.8 grains (4.59 grams in BM records). Diameter of 30mm. Appears to be a late die state reverse. The leg of the X is not recut.

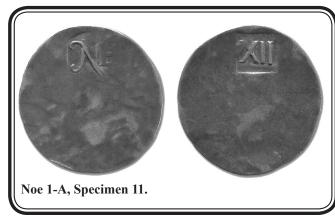
9. Roach 1944 (Lot 2); Starr 1992 (Lot 1); Colonial Williamsburg (Acc. no. 2004 8, 2). Weight of 71.6 grains. Dimensions of 28.3x27.4 mm. A late die state reverse. The right leg of the X appears to be recut as Noe 1-A, Specimen 1. Clearly double struck on the obverse. This coin is a different color on each side. Ex Joe Lasser; currently part of collection of Colonial Williamsburg.

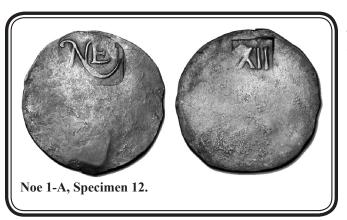




10. British Museum (Inv. BM 4149). Weight of 71.6 grains (4.64 grams in BM records). Diameter of 31mm.

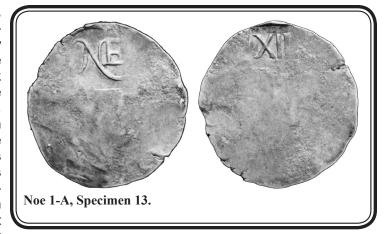
11. British Museum (Inv. BM C4981 = 1935.0401.9113). Weight of 69.75 grains (4.52 grams in BM records). Diameter of 29mm.





12. National Numismatic Collection (Inv. 1982.0798.0001). Weight of 72.4 grains. Diameter of 29mm. Ex Emery May Norweb.

13. Mills 1904 (Lot 4). Weight of 71.5 grains. Diameter of 29mm. This is a very early die state reverse. There is no indication of the break from the bottom serif of the E in the Chapman images. This leads to the conclusion that this coin was one of the first struck. However, it was recently discovered that this coin is in the Newman collection. Examination of the coin and new photos show that the obverse break is actually



present (Figure 18). Ex Waldo Newcomer; Col. E. H. R. Green; now in Eric Newman collection.

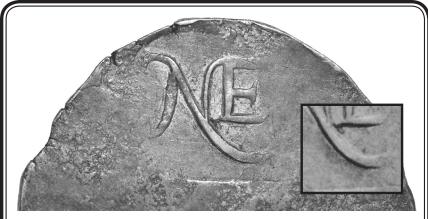


Figure 18. New enlarged image of Specimen 13, revealing the die break. Inset of an enlargement of the Chapman image where the break is invisible.

14. Hunterian Museum. Weight of 72.5 grains (4.7 grams in Hunterian records). This coin from a late nineteenth-century West Scotland collection (Thomas Coats 2326) was donated to the museum in the 1920s. To be fully published with images by Robert Hoge in a forthcoming volume of the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

New England Shilling Noe 1-D

1. Crosby 1883 (Lot 845); Jackman 1918 (Lot 2); Newman 1959 (p. 66, Plate IX); Garrett 1980 (Lot 1200); Silberman 1988 (Lot 6001). Weight of 70.2 grains. This example was first plated by Henry Chapman in the Jackman sale in 1918, where it was first recognized as a new variety (Figure 19). Chapman pointed out that it differed from the coin Crosby plated but that it was from the Crosby collection. The Crosby (Haseltine) sale included two NE shillings as lots 844 and 845 (Figure 20, below). The description of lot 845 clearly matches this coin. Why Crosby did not use this coin as the plate coin in his landmark book is unknown, but probably he did not acquire the coin until sometime after



Noe 1-D, Specimen 1. Chapman (above) and Garrett (below) images with an enlargement of the reverse punch.

Early Coins of America had been published. Much later Sydney Noe somehow overlooked the Jackman catalog description and left this out his 1943 work. In 1959, Eric Newman provided the designation 1-D, using the next available reverse letter. The weight given in the Garrett catalog differs slightly from the weight noted in the Jackman sale. This example is fully struck up

on both sides. Ex S. S. Crosby; A. W. Jackman; J. W. Garrett.

MASSACHUSETTS.

SILVER COINAGE.

2 (1652) Shilling. NE (New England) in raised letters in a depressed punch-mark with domed shaped top. If xn=12 pence, in a square depressed punch-mark. Differs from Crosby's plate I, No. 3, the NE being more carefully formed, the punch-mark smaller, while the punch-mark on reverse is considerably smaller. The whole device being stamped on a plain planchet. Size 17 much smaller than usual. I believe this coin to be struck from dies hitherto unknown. Extremely fine. Excessively rare. Being the first coin struck in North America makes it one of the most interesting and a specimen should be in every American cabinet. Plate. Crosby plate I, 3. From the Crosby Collection. Weight 71 grs. Size 16x17.

Figure 19. Description of the NE shilling in the Jackman sale.

EARLY COINS OF AMERICA

MASSACHUSETTS

NEW ENGLAND SHILLINGS.

- 30 = 844 N. E. in relief upon a depressed field at top. Rev. XII in a similar field. Very fine, although the second I in XII is barely perceptible. Size 18. Very rare.
- 58 845 The same. The depressed field on the reverse is smaller than the preceding. Handsomely struck. Everything being bold and legible. Size 17. Very rare.

Figure 20. Descriptions of the two NE shillings in the Crosby sale.



2. Chaloner 1895 (Lot 630, Plate IV); Elder 1926 (Lot 1903); ANA 1957 (Lot 2); Park 1976 (Lot 2). Weight of 71.0 grains. Chapman did not describe this coin as having a different reverse die in the Chaloner catalog, but its new reverse was recognized by the 1957 ANA cataloguer, who referred back to Henry Chapman's Jackman auction for a previous example of this variety. The reverse was described by Newman as, "with part of its reverse double struck in such a way that a splinter-like sliver breaks the right side of the frame and

the second I is very irregular." When I discovered the fourth example of a 1-D (the Clearwater coin, Specimen 4, below) and it demonstrated an identical reverse "double strike", it became clear that this was not a double strike at all, but a shear punch failure. I have added the 1926 Elder auction (Figure 21) to the provenance based on the following reasoning: the Clearwater

Property of A. J. S.

RARE AND INTERESTING AMERICAN COLONIAL AND CONTINENTAL COINS.

- 1902 New England Shilling. NE in depressed square on plain flan. Rx.

 XII in same. Very fine. Crosby Pl. I. 3. Very rare.
- 1903 New England Shilling. A different die, the figures are smaller and XII closer together. Extremely fine. Exceedingly rare. Guaranted absolutely genuine and worth \$300 to \$350.

Figure 21. Descriptions of the two NE shillings in the Elder sale.

coin was locked up in the Met collection before 1920;¹⁸ the Garrett example was out of circulation, having been purchased by Garrett in 1919 from Henry Chapman, who had probably bought it for stock from the Jackman sale; and the Elder lot description clearly describes the D reverse, but does not mention any planchet crack, rules out the Princeton/Ingle example. Assuming there is not another unknown 1-D, the Elder 1926 coin must be the coin from the Chaloner sale. Ex E. J. M. Chaloner; A. J. S.; and Laird U. Park.

3. ANA 1948 (Lot 38); Ingle 1986 (Lot 654); *CNL* May 1986 (pp. 960–961). Weight of 64.6 grains. Dimensions of 29.7 x 25.5mm. The most notable attribute of this specimen is the planchet crack above the NE. Fully struck up on both sides. Based on the mention of a planchet crack above NE in the lot description from the 1948 ANA (Katen) sale (Figure 22), I have added that sale to the provenance. There is no other NE shilling with such a planchet crack. According to the Ingle catalog, this collection had been in a bank box since around



1948. Ingle's son believed that many of the coins in the collection had been purchased in the 20s and 30s, but this coin must have been purchased shortly before Ingle stopped acquiring new coins. Ex Charles W. Ingle.

38 (1652) N E SHILLING. N E in relief upon a depressed field near upper edge on an irregular circular form. Rev. Rev. XII in depressed field. Planchet crack above N. E. Fine. Very rare 200.00

Figure 22. Description of the NE shilling in the ANA sale.



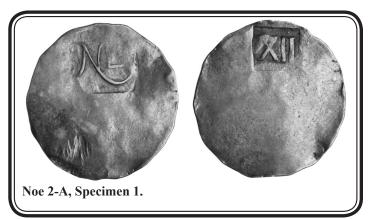
4. Clearwater, Metropolitan Museum, NYC. Newly discovered example. Donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art before 1920 by Judge Alphonso Clearwater as part of a large collection of early silver pieces. Judge Clearwater died in 1933. Never before identified as a Noe 1-D, this coin has the same reverse punch failure as the Chaloner 1-D that Newman had described as a double strike. This new example makes it clear that the "double strike" is actually damage caused by

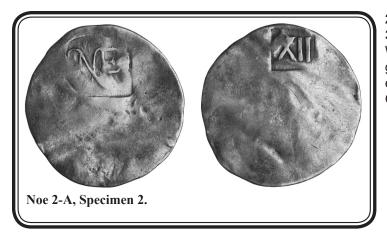
a piece of the punch shearing off. This feature makes this die variety the rarest. The Clearwater coin was plated in 1920 in a non-numismatic publication. This is probably why it went undetected for so long.

¹⁸ Avery 1920, plated p. 15.

New England Shilling Noe 2-A

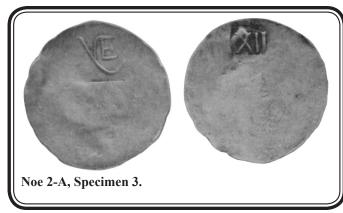
1. Noe 1943 (Plate I, no. 4); ANS (Inv. 1946.89.11). Weight of 71.5 grains (4.63 grams in ANS records). Diameter of 28.4mm. Ex William B. Osgood Field.

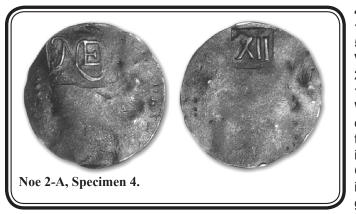




2. Noe 1943 (Plate I, no. 3); ANS (Inv. 1946.89.10). Weight of 66.7 grains (4.32 grams in ANS records). Diameter of 30mm. Ex William B. Osgood Field.

3. Winsor 1895 (Lot 1); possibly Noe 1943 (No. 5, not plated). If this is Noe no. 5, it has a weight of 71 grains.



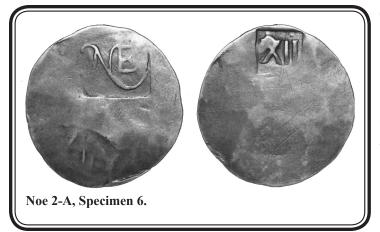


Jay: Gibson Collection; Sam Stone; Andrew Hain.

4. Haines 1888 (Lot 18); Green 1906 (Lot 477); Jenks 1921 (Lot 5383); Morgenthau 1933 (Lot 1); Vlack 1965 (p. 14); Jay 1967 (Lot 2); Gibson 1974 (Lot 1); Kleeberg 1992 (No. 2); Hain 2002 (Lot 1). Weight of 71.7 grains. Dimensions of 28.2 x 27.6mm. The auction of this coin by Green has been missing from catalogued entries; the Green sale of 1906 states the coin is the Haines example. Ex Ferguson Haines; New England Collection; John Story Jenks; Charles

5. Roach 1944 (Lot 1); Picker/Benedict/Rising 1991 (Lot 1); Hain 2002 (Lot 2); Leon 2008 (Lot 319). Weight of 72.1 grains. Dimensions of 31.7 x 30.5mm. A very large coin, almost perfectly round and very close to fully struck up. Ex Belden Roach; Richard Picker; Andrew Hain; Henry Leon.



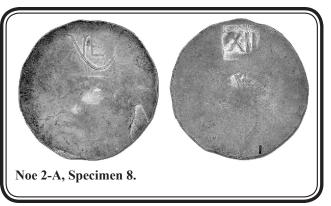


6. Cleneay 1890 (Lot 256); Bullowa 1953 (Lot 756); A-Mark 1972 (p. 10); Promised-Lands 1974 (Lot 193); Altman-Haffner 1975 (Lot 620); December 1979 (Lot 2); Kleeberg 1992 (No. 4). Weight of 70.5 grains. This coin is misattributed as Noe 3-A in Promised Lands & Altman-Haffner by Breen, followed by Stack's December sale and Kleeberg. Kleeberg incorrectly gave the provenance as the Lasser collection. Provenance extended

to Cleneay, Bullowa, and A-Mark from plate matching. Ex Thomas Cleneay; unidentified intermediates; now in the S. Martin collection.

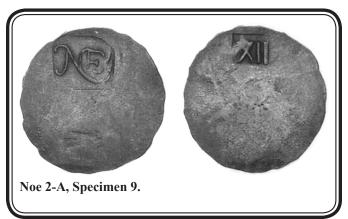
7. Clay 1871 (Lot 63); Warner 1884 (Lot 2022); Cole 1986 (Lot 1102). Weight of 69.5 grains. Ex Charles Clay, Thomas Warner, and Ezra Cole.





8. Century 1884 (p. 245); Durham Western Heritage Museum, Omaha, NE. Ex Byron Reed Collection.

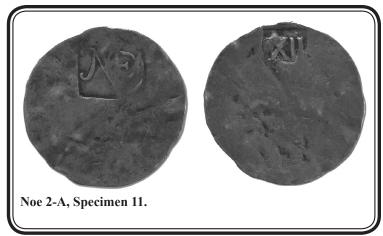
9. Picker 1984 (Lot 2). Weight of 71.8 grains. Alignment of the E to the N is off, probably due to double strike.George Fuld in *E-Sylum* Volume 11, Number 10 (March 9, 2008), shares how this and many other coins from the Garrett collection came to be de-accessioned and privately purchased from Johns Hopkins by Richard Picker. Ex Garrett and James Ellsworth.

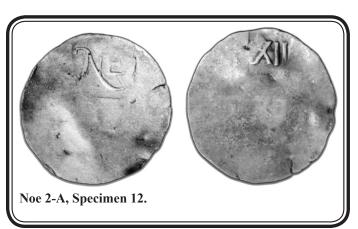




10. British Museum (Inv. BM E4150). Weight of 71.5 grains (4.63 grams in BM records). Diameter of 29mm. Note the left leg of the N descends too low. Doublestriking may explain this observation. The reverse is also double struck.

11. British Museum (Inv. SSB 168.1). Weight of 71.1 grains (4.61 grams in BM records). Diameter of 31mm. Gift of Sarah Sophia Banks and part of the founding collection of the British Museum.

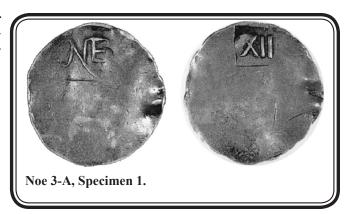




12. Stickney 1907 (Lot 1); Mehl, Star Rare Coin Encyclopedia and Premium Catalog, 35th edition, 1931. Slightly bent.

New England Shilling Noe 3-A

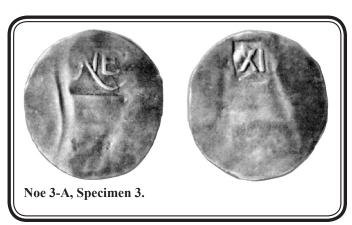
1. Noe 1943 (Plate II, no. 6); Yeoman 2005 (p. 35). Weight of 70.4 grains. Diameter of 28.4mm. Massachusetts Historical Society.

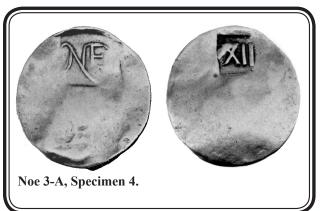




2. Eliasberg 1996 (Lot 1). Weight of 68.5 grains. Dimensions of 27.4 x 28.6mm. Alignment is 170°. Acquired between the mid-1920s and 1950. Provenance unknown.

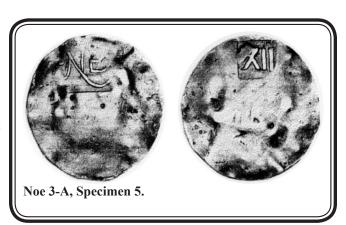
3. Gable 1914 (Lot 147); Stearns 1966 (Lot 3). The coin has a furrow or bend just to the left of the NE punch on the obverse and a similar one through the right of the cartouche on the reverse. This bend obliterates the second I in XII. This feature was not mentioned in the Stearns catalog. Provenance extended to Gable by plate matching.





4. Watters 1917 (Lot 197); Silver 1979 (Page 58). Weight of 69.3 grains. Diameter of 28mm. Alignment is approximately 180°. Ex Dr. Phillip Nelson MD; C. A. Watters; Mabel Brady Garvan Collection (Inv. 1930.1356) at Yale University.

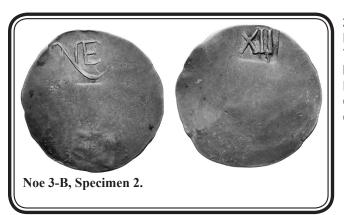
5. Essex 1975 (Lot 1); VIP 1981 (Lot 3); Wyatt 1985 (Lot 1). Weights of 68.2 grains (VIP) and 67.7 grains (Wyatt). Essex notes the diagnostic break from the bottom of the E to the edge and also that the V-like break or graver marks at the top of the first I and a dot to the right are strong and clear.



New England Shilling Noe 3-B

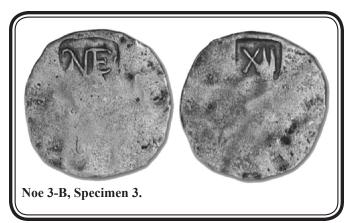
1. Noe 1943 (No. 7); ANS (Inv. 1946.89.72). Weight of 72.6 grains. Diameter 27mm. ANS website entry says 4.5 grams not 4.7 grams. Ex William B. Osgood Field





2. Noe 1943 (No. 8, not plated); Ford XII 2005 (Lot 2). Weight of 71.8. Provenance extended to Davis by plate matching. Ex Robert Coulton Davis; Dr. Thomas Hall; Virgil Brand; Carl Würtzbach; T. James Clarke; F. C. C Boyd; John J. Ford.

3. Robison 1982 (Lot 4); March 1984 (Lot 915). Weight of 69.4 grains. Natural grey color. Noted in the Robison catalog as having teeth marks.





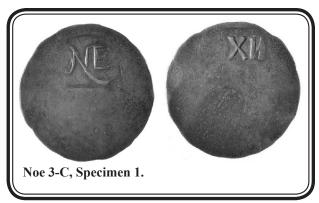
4. Kriesberg 1978 (Lot 2). Weight of 70 grains.

5. Würtzbach 1937 (No. 4); Atwater 1946 (Lot 1); Mehl 1954 (Lot 1965-A); Kleeberg (No. 5). Weight of 71.1 grains. Diameter of 28mm. Unusual die alignment of 45°. Kleeberg did not indicate any provenance other than that it was part of the collection of Alan Weinberg. Provenance has been extended by plate matches. Ex Würtzbach; Atwater; Futter.



New England Shilling Noe 3-C

1. Lauder 1983 (Lot 113); Kleeberg 1991 (No. 6). Weight of 72.3 grains. Later state of the reverse punch. Ex Loye Lauder; Tony Terranova; now in R. Siboni Collection.





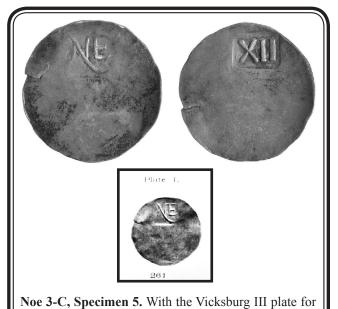
2. Noe 1943 (No. 10); Ford XII 2005 (Lot 3); Heritage FUN 2008 (Lot 2624). Weight of 71.9 grains (the Heritage sale gives the weight as 72.07 grains). Diameter of 29mm. Ex George J. Bauer; T. James Clarke; F. C. C. Boyd; John J. Ford.

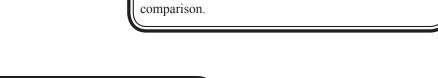
3. Bushnell 1882 (Lot 160); Noe 1943 (No. 11); Ford XII 2005 (Lot 4). Weight of 70.9 grains (70.2 grains in Noe). Newcomer No. 3026 at a cost of \$150 (Hodder). Provenance extended to Bushnell by plate matching. Ex Charles Ira Bushnell; Waldo Newcomer; T. James Clarke; F. C. C. Boyd; John J. Ford.



4. Noe 1943 (No. 12). Weight of 71 grains. Location unknown. Not in the ANS collection as are all other Osgood Field items. Possibly a mistake in Noe. Supposedly part of William B. Osgood Field Collection.

5. Vicksburg III 1888 (Lot 261); ANS (Inv. 1946.89.6); Noe 1943 (No. 13); Kleeberg 1991 (No. 8). Weight of 70.2 grains. Kleeberg has the alignment as 360° or back to back, but the image clearly shows the alignment to be very close to the normal head to toe or 180°. Provenance has been extended to George Marion Klein by obtaining a copy of the very rare plates from the Vicksburg III sale. Ex. William B. Osgood Field, George Marion Klein.



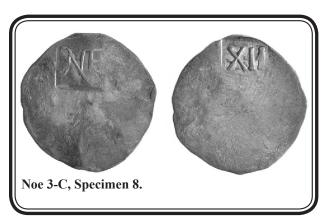




6. Hall 1945 (Lot 1); ANS (Inv. 1946.89.9); Noe 1943 (No. 14); Kleeberg 1991 (No. 9). Weight of 69.8 grains. Ex William B. Osgood Field Collection.

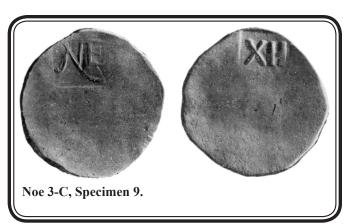
7. Noe 1943 (No. 15); ANS (Inv. 1946.89.7); Kleeberg 1991 (No. 10). Weight of 71.6 grains. Ex William B. Osgood Field Collection.

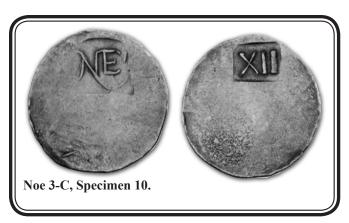




8. Würtzbach, ANS 1914 Exhibit; ANS (Inv. 1946.89.8); Noe 1943 (No. 16); Kleeberg 1991 (No. 11). Weight of 70.7 grains. Ex William B. Osgood Field Collection.

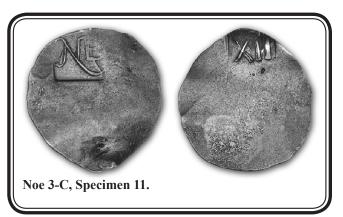
9. Crosby 1883, Plate I, no. 3. Crosby's plate coin. Image from original Crosby plate.

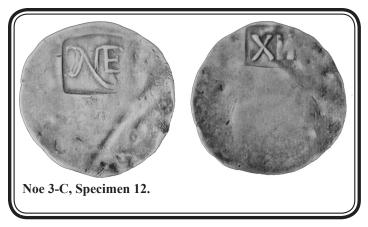




10. Roper (Lot 7); Breen 1988 (p. 11). Weight of 71.3 grains. Almost perfectly round. Ex John Roper Collection.

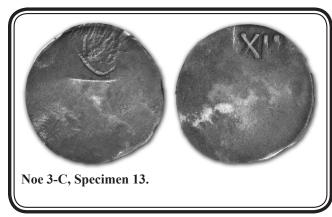
11. Norweb 1987 (Lot 1153); Hain 2002 (Lot 3). Weight of 69.8. Dimensions of 28.1mm x 26.8mm. Private sale to Norweb from Elder, 1907. Ex Elder; Norweb; Andrew Hain.

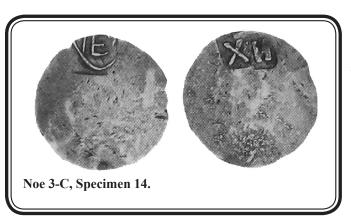




12. Clay 1871 (Lot 64); Earle 1912 (Lot 1916); ANA 1954 (lot A); Steinberg 1989 (Lot 3); Krause WC 17th. (p. 1224). Weight of 68.5 grains. This coin is shift double struck on the obverse. Only the obverse is plated in the Clay sale (as lot 64 on the upper left of the plate). No provenance provided in the Steinberg sale. This provenance was created by plate matching. Ex Charles Clay; George H. Earle; Gilbert Steinberg.

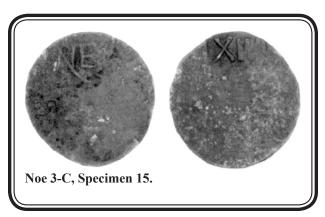
13. NN59 1967 (Lot 102); Springfield 1981 (Lot 1703); RCR 16; Heritage 2001 (Lot 5001). Weight of 70.8 grains (Breen had the weight as 70.45 grains). Ex F. C. C. Boyd.

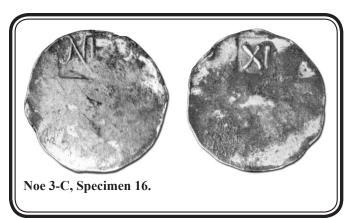




14. 56th ANA 1947 (Lot 536); Kelly 1949 (Lot 684); Coles 1987 (Lot 1). Weight of 70.7 grains. The second Prann example. Ex Robert Prann and Jerome Coles.

15. Feversham 1989 (Lot 991). Weight of 57.4 grains. Double struck on reverse. By far the lightest known example. This is almost certainly due to its time spent in salt water. This example has the oldest provenance yet demonstrated—the wreck of the *H.M.S. Feversham* in 1711—and likely never to be exceeded.





16. U.S. Mint Collection. 1913 image.

Known shillings that can not yet be assigned a Noe designation

1. Miller 1920 (Lot 1527). Only the obverse was plated in Miller. This could be a 3-A, B, or C, but does not seem to match any others already catalogued. Two are close: Noe 3-B, Specimen 1 and Noe 3-C, Specimen 9. There was a circular defect in the middle of the image (left). After examining the actual plates, it became clear that this was a defect on the negatives. This defect has been removed from the image on the right.



Uncertain Shilling, Specimen 1. Published Miller image (left) and original plate image (right).

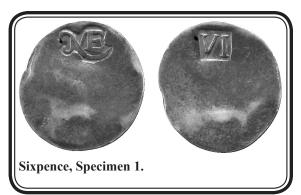


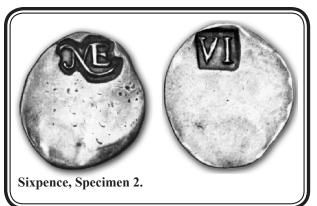
Uncertain Shilling, Specimen 2.

2. Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Acc. no. 92.1534). Weight of 61.2 grains (0.14 oz. in BMFA records). Diameter 27-28 (1 1/8 inches in BMFA records). Bequest of Miss Rebecca Salisbury, 1892. Ex Anna P. Jones (1807/8–1862/3?), Boston; to Rebecca S. Salisbury (1826/27–December 30, 1891), Boston, by bequest; to BMFA, January 1892, by bequest. Catalogued as Noe III-A.

Sixpences

1. British Museum (Inv. BM 0523.34; CMB42983). Weight of 35.8 grains (2.32 grams in BM records). This coin was a gift of William Nelson Clarke in 1840. Punch marks are clearly visible on opposite sides with alignment close to 180°.

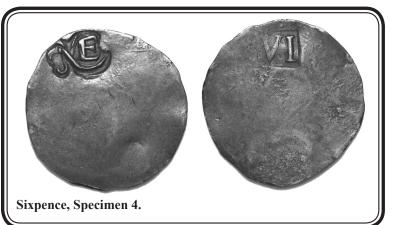




2. Roper 1983 (Lot 8). Weight of 33.8 grains. Some surface marks on the obverse. The punches are faintly visible on opposite sides.

3. Garrett 1980 (Lot 1201). Weight of 33.7 grains. Diameter as measured in Noe & Garrett catalog is 23.5mm. Some waviness in the planchet. Purchased by T. Harrison Garrett from Edward Frossard on April 15, 1883.





4. Eric Newman. Weight of 36.4 grains. Diameter of 22.4mm. Ex Green estate.

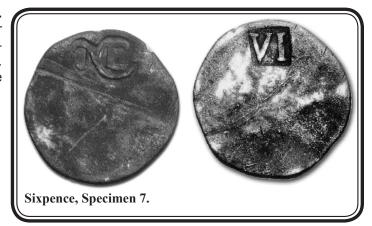
5. Lauder. Weight of 33.4 grains. Diameter of 21.5mm as measured in Noe. Stolen from the Massachusetts Historical Society.





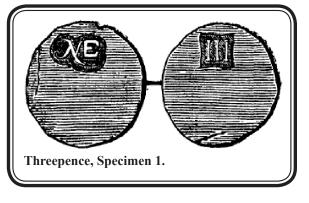
6. ANS (Inv. 1946.89.5). Weight of 31.4 grains. Gift of William B. Osgood Field.

7. Sotheby's Rade (Lot 108). Weight of 32.2 grains. Diameter of 28.8mm. Ground find by Lilian Rade in a Long Island field. Diameter seems much too large by at least 4mm.



Threepences

1. Yale University. Weight of 17 grains. The Yale collection was formed in the early 1800s and the threepence was part of the original collection. Until the second example (donated by William Sumner Appleton to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1907) was found, no one was sure that this coin was genuine. It was later stolen or misplaced, but no one seems to know exactly when it disappeared. It must have been lost or stolen prior to the major theft at Yale in 1965 as it was not on the list of coins stolen after Appleton donated his



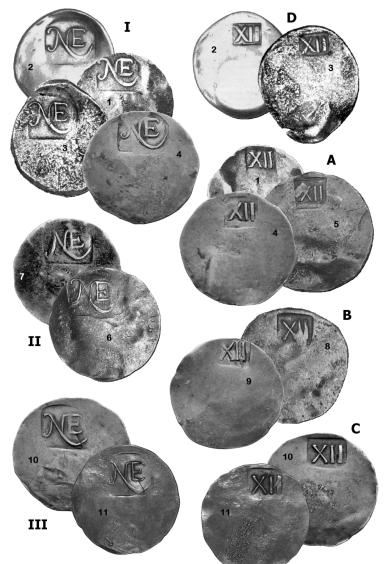
coins to the MHS. In a discussion with John Burnham (former Yale curator), he indicated that it had disappeared well before his time at Yale. He also indicated he had never seen any documentation on when it had gone missing. In 1972, Breen wrote that the Yale coin had been stolen many decades before.



2. Massachusetts Historical Society. Weight of 17.3 grains. See document from Historical magazine on Appleton example, page 253, 1863. In Mass Silver as jpg

Appendix A

Massachusetts Silver, New England Shillings, 1652 First Coinage of Colonial North America





Diagnostics

Obverse: Middle serif of the E is

- I. Die break connects middle serif of E to top serif (a). Not visible in I-D (#3) on this image. Die break from bottom stroke of E to N is starting (b). Connection of N to E is a smooth curve.
- II. Middle stroke of E has triangular serif (c). E to N is a smooth curve as in obverse I.
- III. Die break on bottom stroke of E progressively expands (e). Connection of N to E is angular not smooth (d). Connection of right leg of N to diagonal is different than obverses I & II. Top of bottom E stroke has scoop out (f). Die appears to have been re-cut and is cruder.

Reverses:

- A. Progressive break in upper left corner of X (g). This is also diagnostic for order of emission. XII is not in perfect alignment. 2nd I descends below 1st I. IIs are not touching. Faint V shaped die break or graver mark above 1st I always present (h), but may not be visible in all photos.
- B. XII aligned with each other but not with edge of die. Die break descends between IIs and is present in all known examples (i).
- C. 2nd I fat (k), IIs do not touch. Field below XII is not parallel to baseline of XII (j).
- D. X different than all others. The field around XII is much narrower (m).

Notes for New England Shillings:
All images 1.5X actual size. 1. I-A, 69.9 gns, 6:15, ANS, Money of Pre Federal America (MPFA), Stack-Wild-Judd. 2. I-D, 70.2 gns, B&R, Garrett, Lot 1200, Garrett-Jackman-Chapman-Crosby. 3. I-D, 64.6 gns, B&M, Princeton/Ingle, Lot 654. 4. I-A, 71.9 gns, Stack's, Ford-Wurtzback-Brand-Smith-Clarke. 5. II-A, 72.1 gns, Stack's, Hain-Picker-Roach. 6. II-A, 71.7 gns, Stack's, Hain, Hain-Stone-Gibson-Jay-Jenks-Haines. 7. II-A, British Museum. 8. III-B, 69.4 gns, Stack's, Robison, Lot 4. 9. III-B, 71.8 gns, Stack's Ford, Lot 2, Ford-Boyd-Clarke-Brand-Hall. 10. III-C, 71.9 gns, Stack's Ford, Lot 3, Ford-Boyd-Clarke-Bauer. 11. III-C, 72.3 gns, Doyle Galleries, Lauder Lot 113. Sibpon-Terranoval auder. Lauder, Lot 113, Siboni-Terranova-Lauder.

Appendix B

NE XII Specimen Data

Noe	Howes #	Noe #	Weight 1	Weight 2	Diameter	Alignment	Dbl. Str.
1-A	1	1	71.9grs		30mm	177°	
	2	2	70.3grs		29mm	180°	Obv.
	3		69.6grs			180°	
	4		70.3grs			190°	
	5						
	6		70.1grs				
	7		65.7grs				
	8						
	9		70.8grs			180°	
	10		71.6grs		28.3x 27.4mm	177°	Obv.
	11		71.6grs			180°	
	12		69.7grs			202°	
	13		72.4grs		29mm	166°	
	14		72.5grs				
1-D	1		70.2grs			180°	
	2		71grs			180°	
	3		64.6grs		29.7x25.5mm	180°	
	4					174°	
2-A	1	3	66.7grs		30mm	180°	
	2	4	71.5grs				
	3	5	71grs				
	4		71.7grs		28.2x27.6mm	180°	
	5		72.1grs		31.7x30.5mm		
	6		70.5grs				
	7		69.5grs			155°	
	8						
	9		71.8grs			180°	
	10		71.5grs			180°	
	11		71.1grs				
	12						
3-A	1	6	70.4grs		28mm	180°	
	2		68.5grs			180°	
	3					180°	
	4		69.3grs		28mm	180°	
	5		68.2grs	67.7grs		180°	

Noe	Howes #	Noe #	Weight 1	Weight 2	Diameter	Alignment	Dbl. Str.
3-B	1	7	72.6grs		27mm		
	2	8	71.8grs			180°	
	3	9	70.3grs				
	4		69.4grs				
	5		70grs				
	6		71.1grs		28mm	215°	
	7		71.3grs				
	8					180°	
3-C	1		72.3grs				
	2	10	71.9grs	72.1grs	29mm	150°	
	3		70.2grs	70.9grs		171°	
	4		71grs				
	5		70.2grs			180°	
	6		69.8grs				
	7	15	71.6grs			156°	
	8	16	70.7grs			193°	
	9						
	10		71.3grs			155°	
	11		69.8grs		28.1x26.8mm	180°	Rev.
	12		68.5grs			180°	Obv.
	13		70.5grs	70.8grs			
	14		70.9grs			180°	Rev.
	15		57.4grs				Rev.
	16						

Appendix C

Timeline of sales, and other references to NE sixpences (and the odd shilling)

1741–2	Folkes buys NE XII and VI in Cock's auction of Earl of Oxford collection.
1745	Folkes first mentions NE sixpence in print, first illustration of an NE sixpence (Figure 12, above).
1756	Folkes collection sold by Abraham Langford.
1763	Hutchinson sends Jackson an NE shilling and sixpence.
1766	Thomas Hollis (England) asks Rev. Dr. Andrew Elliot (Massachusetts) to find an NE six-
1771	pence for his collection. Rev. Dr. Elliot finally finds an NE sixpence and sends it to Thomas Hollis.
14 May, 1817	Sotheby's Thomas Hollis sale. NE sixpence is part of lot 439.
1840	Wm. Nelson Clarke gives an NE sixpence to British Museum.
1854	Sotheby Cuff, NE sixpence, lot 2253, sold to a certain Webster for what appears to be
Feb. 1859	4 pounds. Augustus Sage, Catalogue of Coins, Medals illustrates (by woodcut) an NE shilling and
1 CD. 1000	sixpence for sale at \$27 and \$30 respectively.
1859	Advertisement of John K. Curtis, 83 Bleecker St, NY in AJN, offering a number of
00.144050	American Colonials, including NE shilling and sixpence.
23 May, 1859	Sotheby's Rev. J. W. Martin. NE sixpence, lot 297, Extremely Fine, sold to Lincoln for £6-6-0, twice what the NE shilling sold for.
24 Apr., 1866	Woodward Hoffman. NE sixpence, lot 1395; "Very fine indeed, and guaranteed original,
	of the very highest rarity, not more than three or four genuine specimens known." Sold
	for \$42.50 to E. Cogan for Graham.
1867	Woodward Mickley. NE sixpence, lot 2246, described as "VF and genuine beyond question."
1871	Cogan Packer. NE sixpence, lot 1252, described as "much battered, NE just discernible,
	VI being plain."
1873	Strobridge Seavy. NE shilling and sixpence, Parmelee, no details at all.
1875	Cogan Cohen. Lot 2214, "N.E. Sixpence, battered and poor, \$12. from <i>Coin Collectors Journal</i> .
1882	Chapman Bushnell. NE sixpence plated, eventually sold to Garrett via Frossard.
1903	Sotheby Murdoch. NE sixpence not plated. Described as "similar to last [NE shilling]
	but [NE] punch shaped around the monogram, reverse from a square punch, fine."
1907 1911	William Sumner Appleton collection donated to Massachusetts Historical Society. NE sixpence plated in <i>The Illustrated London News</i> (also NE shilling, Willow sixpence,
1911	and Somers threepence).
11 Dec., 1914	Elder Cogswell (Known sale, do not have catalogue or copy of lot).
17 Apr., 1931	Hesslein sale (Known sale, do not have catalogue or copy of lot).
1943	Noe plates 3 NE sixpences (Garrett, ANS, MHS).
7 Nov., 1944	Mehl Olsen. NE sixpence not plated, described as "Irregular silver planchet, without
	collar, Can be classed as fine for coin, as none were struck very bold." None of the examples known to the author could be this coin. The Roper piece is boldly struck and
	all the others are accounted for by this date unless Osgood Field bought the one he
	gave to ANS in 1946. The Osgood Field specimen is battered, but not irregular at all.
1945	Stack's G. H. Hall. Includes a plated counterfeit NE sixpence.
1946	William B. Osgood Field donates his NE sixpence to the ANS.
1947 1949	ANA Robert Prann. NE sixpence not plated. ANA. Noted in description as from 47 ANA and as back to back i.e., a Noe 2-B. Now
1949	considered a fabrication.
1960s	Massachusetts Historical Society example stolen.
1970s	Dealer contacts the Massachusetts Historical Society, but the matter is not pursued.
1980	B & R Garrett. Includes NE sixpence from the Bushnell sale.
1983 1983	Doyle Lauder (stolen from MHS) bought by H. Ditmer Stack's Roper. Includes NE sixpence of unknown provenance.
1991	Seventh known NE sixpence is dug up in a Long Island field.
21 Nov., 1991	Sotheby's. Includes the Long Island NE sixpence and states that the Ashmolean
0000	Museum has an example.
2008	No sign of NE sixpence in Ashmolean trays (personal comm., Dr. Julian Baker).

Annotated Bibliography

Altman-Haffner 1975: Pine Tree Auction. The Altman-Haffner Sale Including the Colonial Collections of Major General Kenneth Stiles (Ret.) and Thomas Fitzgerald and Selections of Plate Coins from Cabeto's 8 Real Compendium. New York, Apr 28-30th, 1975. 189 pp., 1869 lots.

A-Mark 1972: A-Mark Group. *Rare Coin Catalogue*, Vol. 1, Number 1. December 1972. In addition to the Ted Craige Machin's collection a plated NE XII. A very difficult catalogue to find. I have seen two in the last ten years.

Atkinson 1885: D. H. Atkinson. *Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer: His Town and Times*. Vol 1. Leeds: Walker & Laycock, 1885.

Atwater 1946: Max B. Mehl. *The William Cutler Atwater Collection*. Fort Worth, June 11th, 1946. 199 pp, 2398 lots. NE Shilling.

Avery 1920: C. Louise Avery. *American Silver of the XVII & XVIII Centuries. A Study Based on the Clearwater Collection.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1920. Plated on page 15.

ANA 1948: Frank J. Katen. *American Numismatic Association 1948 Convention Auction Sale.* Boston, August 23-27th, 1948. 176 pp., 2763 lots. NE shilling; silver St. Pat; brass and silver continental dollars; Maris 3-C; Non Vi Virtute; 2 Confederatios—small stars and large; Libernatus; 2 Exclesiors; silver Immune Columbia. No plates. Sporadic in-text illustration of not particularly important items.

ANA 1954: Federal Coin Exchange (Michael Kolman). *American Numismatic Association 1954 Convention Auction Sale*. Cleveland, Aug 11th–21st, 1954. 200 pp., 4175 lots. 48 pages of plates (low quality halftones) plus some coins illustrated in the text.

ANA 1955: BeBee's. *1955 American Numismatic Association Convention Sale Catalogue*. Omaha, August 24–27th, 1955. 80 pp., 2585 lots. 10 decent half-tone plates. Parmelee Birch cent; plated NE shilling; Carolina elephant; silver St. Pats; and half disme.

ANA 1957: Federal Coin Exchange. *American Numismatic Association 66th Annual Convention Auction Sale.* Philadelphia, Aug 21st–24th, 1957. xvi+104 pp., 3630 lots. Illustrated with black and white halftone photos and 8 plates.

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Bluestone 1938: Barney Bluestone. *[41st Catalogue]*. Syracuse, October 7th, 1938. This catalog has plates according to Gengerke and the ANS library catalog but unexamined. The ANS librarian could not find this catalog. Contains an NE shilling according to Adams, who did not indicate that this catalog has plates.

Branigan 1978: Bowers & Ruddy Galleries. *The Robert E. Branigan Estate.* Houston, August 21st–25th, 1978. xvi+216 pp., 2927 lots. 8 color plates. The NE shilling in this auction is a very deceptive cast and was withdrawn before the auction.

Breen 1988: Walter Breen. Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins. New York, 1988. 754 pp. Quarto. About as good a general reference as exists at this time for colonial coins.

Bullowa 1953: David M. Bullowa. *Catalogue of RARE AMERICAN and FOREGIN COINS and PAPER MONERY, etc.* Philadelphia, June 12–13, 1953. Collection from an "Eastern Institution." 53 pp., 1503 lots. 2 halftone plates. Many items from the Cleneay sale.

Bushnell 1882: S. H. & H. Chapman. *Catalogue of the Celebrated and Valuable Collection of American Coins and Medals of the Late Charles I. Bushnell.* Philadelphia, June 20–24, 1882. 142 pp., 3000 lots, 12 plates.

Carlson 1985: Stephen P. Carlson. *Joseph Jenks: Colonial Toolmaker and Inventor.* Eastern Fort Washington, PA: National Park and Monument Association, 1985.

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Century 1884: Edward Eggleston. "Commerce in the Colonies," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* Vol. VI, No. 2, June 1884: 245.

Chaloner 1895: S. H. & H. Chapman. ... and the Collection of Coins of the United States and Canada, of Mr. E.J.M. Chaloner, of England. Philadelphia, April 29–30, 1895. 51 pp., 883 lots, 5 tinted autotype plates.

Chapman 1885: S. H. & H. Chapman. Catalog of the Chapman Collection of Fine Ancient Greek and Roman, English, Foreign and American Coins and Medals. United States Coins including 1804 Dollar. Philadelphia, May 14–15, 1885. 67 pp., 1253 lots, 3 plates.

Clay 1871: W. H. Strobridge. *Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of American Coins & Medals, the Property of Charles Clay, M.D., of Manchester, England.* Clinton Hall, Astor Place, New York, December 5–7, 1871. 97 pp., 1356 lots. Three genuine NE XIIs.

Clearwater 1920: C. Louise Avery. *American Silver of the XVII and XVIII Centuries*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1920. NE shilling and two others plated on page 24.

Cleneay 1890: S. H. & H. Chapman. *Catalog of the Large and Valuable Collection of Ancient, Foreign, English and American Coins and Medals of the Late Thomas Cleneay, Esq., of Cincinnati.* Philadelphia, December 9–13th, 1890. 114 pp., 2777 lots, 12 tinted photographic plates. Plated NE Shilling.

Cock 1741–2: Christopher Cock. A Catalogue of Greek, Roman and English coins, medallions and medals, of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Oxford, deceas'd: which will be sold by auction, by Mr. Cock, at his house in the great piazza, Covent-Garden, on Thursday March the 18th, 1741–2, and the five following days. London, March 18–23, 1741–2. Collection of Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, bibliophile and collector. First known auction of NE types. Contains both NE XII and VI purchased by Martin Folkes.

Cole 1986: Bowers and Merena. The Ezra Cole Collection and the collections of A. Dean Richmond and Vernon A. Gillette and other properties. Los Angeles, January 23–25, 1986. Cataloging by Q. David Bowers. 219 lots of colonials. Highlights of the sale include: NE XII, Willow XII, outstanding VTs, and a high grade Washington Born Virginia.

Coles 1987: Stack's. *The Amon Carter, Jerome Coles, ... Sale.* New York, October 20–22, 1987. 236 pp., 2845 lots. Plated NE shilling.

Crosby 1883: John W. Haseltine. *Catalogue of the Entire Collection of Sylvester S. Crosby, ...* New York, June 27–29th, 1883. 1817 lots. Amazing collection.

Davis 1890: New York Stamp & Coin. Catalogue of the collection of coins, medals, tokens and currency formerly owned by the late Robert Coulton Davis, Ph.G., of Philadelphia, Pa. ... New York, January 20–24, 1890. Lot 233X.

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Earle 1912: H. Chapman. *Catalog of the Collection ... of George H. Earle, Esq.* New York, June 25–29, 1912. 225 pp., 3875 lots, 39 very fine photographic plates. Quarto.

Elder 20th: Thomas L. Elder. Catalogue of the Twentieth Public Sale, Various Collections of Coins, Tokens, Medals and Paper Money... New York, October 17, 1908. NE shilling, lot 485.

Elder 23rd: Thomas L. Elder. Catalogue of the Twenty-third Public Sale, Important and Valuable Collections of Coins, Medals and Paper Money, the properties of a Prominent New York Collector, new deceased and of the Rev. F. M. Bristol of the M. E. Church. New York, January 16, 1909. NE shilling, lot 1, About Fine.

Elder 104th: Thomas L. Elder. *Catalogue of a Very Important and Valuable Collection of Rare U.S. Patterns, Coins, Medals, Tokens, Paper Money, etc.* New York, December 11, 1914. NE sixpence Lot 737, very good, noted as having been found two (2) years earlier in a lot of "poor and fragmentary, pine and oak shillings" from Philadelphia.

Elder 197th: Thomas L. Elder. *E. H. Eckfeld Jr., et al.* New York, October 9–11, 1924. NE shilling.

Elder 206th: Thomas L. Elder. *Public Auction Sale, The Havemeyer, Gallagher, McMurry, Reeves and Other Collections.* New York, June 28–30, 1926. NE shillings, lots 1902–1903. Described as property of A. J. S. The second one is likely a Noe 1-D.

Eliasberg 1996: Bowers and Merena. *The Magnificent Collection of Louis Eliasberg, Sr.* Part I. New York, May 20–22, 1996. Quarto. 352 pp., 1348 Lots.

Essex 1975: Stack's. The Numismatic Properties of the Essex Institute Salem, Massachusetts. New York, February 6–8, 1975. 107 pp., 1282 lots.

Feversham 1989: Christie's. *Coins from the Wreck of the Feversham.* New York, February 7, 1989. 63 pp., 1080 lots. Catalog contains background material from Michael Emmerman, Phillip Masters, and James Lamb.

Folkes 1745: Martin Folkes. *A Table of English Silver Coins...* London: Society of Antiquaries, 1745. First Edition. (1)–161; (162) errata; (1)-12; 42 full page plates.

Folkes 1756: Abraham Langford. A catalogue of the genuine, entire and choice collection of coins, medals, and medallions, in gold, silver, and brass, of the learned and ingenious Martin Folkes, Esq. London, January 27, 1756. Second catalog known with NE coinage.

Ford XII 2005: Stack's. *The John J. Ford Jr. Collection.* Part XII. New York, October 18, 2005. Quarto. 264 pp., 147 lots. All lots lavishly illustrated. One of the highlights of the Ford auction catalogs.

Gable 1914: S. H. Chapman. Catalog of the Magnificent Collection of the Gold Silver and Copper Coins of the United States of William F. Gable Esq. Altoona. Philadelphia, May 27–29, 1914. 107 pp., 1869 lots, 14 plates.

Garrett 1980: Bowers & Ruddy. *The Garrett Collection.* Part 3. October 1–2, 1980. Octavo. 157 pp., 497 lots, 20 color plates.

Gibson 1974: Stack's. *The Gibson Collection of United States, Foreign & Ancient Gold, Silver and Copper Coins, Pioneer and Territorial Gold.* New York, November 11, 1974. Octavo. 87 pp., 286 lots. Not many colonials, but a few nice lots: NE XII; Unc Noe-1 Pine; silver center cent; half disme. Notable for the territorial gold.

Gordon 1996: Robert B. Gordon. *American Iron.* Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Comprehensive survey of iron technology in America from the Colonial period on.

Green 1906: Ben G. Green. *Twenty-first Auction Sale.* Chicago, 9 March, 1906. Lot 487, described as Very Fine and from the collection of the Hon. Ferguson Haines, sold October 17–18, 1888.

Groves 1912: S. H. Chapman. *The Sterling Groves Collection*. New York, January 31, 1912. 627 lots, 3 fine plates.

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Haines 1888: S. H. & H. Chapman. *Collection of American Coins of Hon. Ferguson Haines*. New York, October 17–18, 1888. 1270 lots.

Hall 1945: Stack's. *The George H. Hall Collection.* New York, May 15, 1945. 132 pp., 2392 lots. The catalog contains all three NE types catalogued as genuine. Each is plated. Both the VI and III pence are counterfeit. It is unknown whether this was discovered before the sale or not.

Heritage FUN 2008: Heritage. *(FUN) Signature Coin Auction* #454. Orlando, January 9–12, 2008.

Hesslein 1931: William Hesslein. *Sale* No. 141. New Haven, April 17, 1931. NE sixpence reported by Adams. The catalog is not plated or illustrated, but has not been examined by the author. The ANS could not find the copy listed in its library catalog.

Hollis 1817: Sotheby & Son. A Catalogue of the very Valuable and Extensive Collection of Ancient & Modern Coins & Medals Collected by Thomas Hollis, Esq. and Thomas Brand Hollis Esq. London, May 14–19, 1817. Octavo. 54 pp., 727 lots. Probably the first auction containing either a NE XII or NE VI. The NE sixpence was obtained by Thomas Hollis from Andrew Elliot of Boston. Also includes the Sommers XII used by Snelling for his engraving.

Ingle 1986: Bowers & Merena., *The Princeton Collection and the Charles W. Ingle Collection and other consignments.* New York, September 8–9, 1986. 184 pp., 3534 lots, 2 color plates.

Jackman 1918: H. Chapman. *Catalog of the Collection ... of the Late A. W. Jackman ...* New York, June 28–29, 1918. Quarto. 76 pp., 1156 lots, 9 very fine photographic plates.

Jay 1967: Stack's. *The Charles Jay Collection of United States Coins.* New York, October 27, 1967. Octavo. 99 pp., 888 lots.

Jenks 1921: H. Chapman. Catalog of the John Story Jenks Collection of Coins. Ancient Greek, Roman and the Entire World. Early American Colonial and State Issues and United States Patterns and the Regular Issues. Philadelphia, December 7–17, 1921. Quarto. xii+653 pp., 7302 lots, 42 plates.

Johnson 1906: B. G. Johnson (St. Louis Stamp & Coin). *The Large and Valuable Collection of United States Copper and Silver ... the Property of Mr. Geo. W. Rice.* St. Louis, 13 April 1906. 4 half-tone plates. Not examined. Should contain an NE shilling.

Jordan 2002: Louis Jordon. John Hull, *The Mint and the Economics of Massachusetts Coinage*. Hanover/London: C4 Publications/University Press of New England, 2002. A history of the Massachusetts mint from its founding in 1652, including the economics of the period. A really excellent source. Anyone interested in the subject should own a copy.

June 1981: Stack's. *United States Gold, Silver, & Copper Coins featuring two specialized collections U.S. Colonial Coins, U.S. Silver Dollars.* New York, June 18–19, 1981.

Kelly 1949: James Kelly. *Catalogue of Rare Coins -:- Medals -:- Etcetra to be Sold at Public Auction in Connection with Central States Numismatic Society Convention.* Detroit, May 13–15, 1949. 23cm x 15.5cm. 48 pp., 1679 lots, 5 pp. of decent halftone plates plus a few individual coins. Colonials from the Alan Harper (Kansas City, Mo) collection, many previously from the Col. Green, Newcomer, and Prann collections. Superb Clinton cent, Maris 3-C, Higley, Florida token, and others.

Kerins 1936: Stack's. *Auction Sale of Interesting Consignments of Well Known Collectors including ... J. A. Kerins ...* New York, 12 September, 1936. NE shilling, lot 1075. Described as Very Fine. Part of Consignment Y.

Kleeberg 1992: John M. Kleeberg (ed.). *The Money of Pre-Federal America*. Coinage of the Americas Conference at the American Numismatic Society. New York, 1992. Octavo. xi+253 pp.

Krause WC 17th: Chester L. Krause and Clifford Mishler. *Standard Catalog of World Coins* 17th Century. 2nd ed. Iola: Krause Publications, 1999. 1272 pp.

Kriesberg/Cohen 1973: Abner Kriesberg & Jerry Cohen. *Public Coin Auction.* Beverly Hills, September 10–12, 1973. 150 pp., 2276 lots, 32 black and white plates.

Kriesberg 1978: Abner Kriesberg. *The Collector's Portfolio Coin Auction*. Beverly Hills, October 24–25, 1978. xvi+151 pp., 1520 lots, 14 black and white plates.

Lauder 1983: William Doyle Galleries. *The Loye P. Lauder Collection.* New York, October 1983.

Leake 1726: Stephen Martin Leake. *Nummi Britannici Historia or an Historical Account of English Money from...* London: W. Meadows, 1726.

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Lincoln 1870: Joseph Leonard and Co. W. S. *Lincoln and Son Collection*. Boston, December 22, 1870. 32 pp., 991 lots.

March 1984: Stack's. The March Sale, Part II. New York, March 21–22, 1984. 104 pp., 882 lots

Mehl 1954: Max B. Mehl. *The Joseph C. Rovensky Collection of...* Fort Worth, November 30, 1954. NE shilling.

Miller 1920: Thomas. L. Elder. *Catalogue of the Splendid Rare Coin Collection of the Late Henry C. Miller, Esq. Of New York City.* New York, April 26–29, 1920. 154 pp., 2212 lots.

Mills 1904: S. H. & H. Chapman. *Catalog of the Magnificent Collection of Coins of the United States formed by John G. Mills, Esq., Albany, New York.* Philadelphia, April 27–29, 1904. 109 pp., 1848 lots, 14 photographic plates. The first Chapman catalog with photographic plates. Plates were produced for M. A. Brown but were never issued due to the objection of the U.S. Government.

Morgenthau 1933: Wayte Raymond. *Sale Number 311, Rare United States Coins, Selections from a Great American Collection.* New York, 18 October, 1933. Coins from the Brand collection. The NE shilling, lot 1, is plated. Described as fine. Very terse descriptions in these Morgenthau sales.

Mulholland 1981: James A. Mulholland. *A History of Metals in Colonial America*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1981.

Murdoch 1904: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge. Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Coins and Medals, The Property of the Late John G. Murdoch, Esq. The Coins and Tokens of the British Colonies and Dependencies, America and the European Continent. London, July 21–30, 1903. 110 pp., 1233 lots, 10 autotype plates. NE shilling and NE sixpence, lots 417, 418. Lot 417 sold to Spink for 10/5 and 417 sold to Banner for 19/11. Neither coin is plated.

NERCA 1975: New England Rare Coin Auctions. *31st Annual NENA Conference Auction.* Boston, November 7–9, 1975. 139 pp., 829 Lots. Well illustrated.

Newman 1959: Eric P. Newman. *The Secret of the Good Samaritan Shilling. Supplemented with Notes on Other Genuine and Counterfeit Massachusetts Silver Coins.* ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs 142. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1959. Tan card covers. xi+71 pp., 9 plates.

Newman 1979: Eric P. Newman. "Superb Numismatic Forgeries are Upon Us." *The Numismatist* Vol. 92, No. 4 (April, 1979): 733–741.

NN59 1967: New Netherlands. *59th Catalogue of United States Coins*. June 13–15,1967. 136 pp., 1370 lots. Catalogued by Walter Breen.

Noe 1943: Sydney Noe. *The New England and Willow Tree Coinages of Massachusetts*. ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs 102. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1943. Tan card covers . 17 cm x 11 cm. 55 pp., 16 plates.

Norweb 1987: Bowers and Merena. *The Norweb Collection,* Part I. New York, October 12–13, 1987. Quarto. 415 pp., 1413 lots.

Oechsner 1988: Stack's. *United States, Colonial, Ancient & Foreign Coins, Property of the Estate of Herbert M. Oechsner.* New York, September 8–9, 1988. Quarto. 294 pp., 1743 lots, 6 color plates.

Park 1976: Stack's. The Laird U. Park Collection of U.S. COLONIAL COINS. New York, May 26, 1976. 75 pp., 495 lots. Includes Sommer Islands XII, small sails; Willow XII, 3-C; some very nice Oaks/Pines including UNC N-1 Pine; high grade Lord Baltimore set and also Chalmers set; silver St. Patrick farthing; silver Woods farthing; excellent Vermont including high grade landscapes; brass NY in America; Non VI Virtute; VF Clinton cent; Mass copper, transposed arrows; brass Continental \$, plus 3 others, UNC, EF, UNC; Unc Fugio Newman 11-A; Geo III/ Immune, Vlack 15-85NY; Inimica Tyrannis small stars; Higley; Virginia Penny proof; silver and copper Getz; silver Born Virgina; Birch cent; half disme; disme; and quite a bit more.

Picker 1984: Stack's. Selections from the Richard Picker Collection of Colonial & Early American Coins. New York, October 24, 1984. 87 pp., 326 lots. Extensive and important colonials, including Sommer XII small sails; Willow 3-C; outstanding Massachusetts silver; 2 Higleys; Unc Carolina elephant; Maris 7-E; plus many other rare NJs; Roman Head; Getz. Coins acquired privately from Johns Hopkins through the then curator are so noted.

Picker/Benedict/Rising 1991: Stack's. Richard Picker, Eugene B. Benedict and Rising Collections. New York, May 1–3, 1991. 172 pp., 2698 lots.

Promised Lands 1974: Pine Tree Rare Coin Auction Sales. *The Promised Lands Coin Auction Sale*. New York, April 30–May 1 , 1974. 112 pp., 1123 lots. Highlights include 192 lots of colonial paper and 185 lots of colonial coins: NE XII; Willow XII and VI; other fine Massachusetts silver; silver St. Patrick's farthing; Vlack 15-85NY; four continental dollars—two Uncs and a brass EF; Non Vi Virtute; gold Washington funeral medal; 1792 half disme. Excellent Breen cataloging.

RCR 16: Bowers and Ruddy Galleries. *Rare Coin Review*, No. 16. Hollywood, October–December, 1972. Plated NE shilling and some very nice Vermonts.

Roach 1944: Max B. Mehl. *Belden E. Roach Collection—Sale* No. 103. New York, February 8, 1944. 231 pp., 3530 lots.

Robison 1982: Stack's. *The Robison Collection of United States Silver & Copper Coins and Colonial Coins.* New York, February 10–13, 1982. 283 pp., 2049 lots. Includes Somers XII,VI, and II; Baltimore set; rare Woods patterns; 2 Higleys; Non Vi Virtute; 2 Excelsiors; Clinton cent; 3 Immunes, 1 George III; Maris 3-C; Baker 20; 2 Getz; silver Washington born Virginia.

Roper 1983: Stack's. *The John L. Roper Collection of Colonial and Early American Coins.* New York, December 8–9, 1983. Octavo. 174 pp., 584 lots.

Silberman 1988: Bowers and Merena. The David B. Silberman Collection. New York, November 16, 1988.

Silver 1979: Barbara McLean Ward and W. R. Gerald (eds.). *Silver in American Life: Selections from the Mabel Brady Garvan and Other Collections at Yale University.* New York: Amer Federation of Arts, 1979. xiii+193 pp.

Sotheby 1795: Leigh & Sotheby. *Catalogue of [...] the Property of the late Rev. Richard Southgate, A.B. ...* London, May 14–22, 1795. A NE shilling appears on page 22, lot 81, on the third day of the sale. Most of the coins were purchased by Samuel Tyssen (maybe this is why this section of the sale was not priced). Tyssen's collection was in turn sold by Sotheby's in April–May, 1802.

Sotheby 1966: Sotheby & Co. Catalogue of Coins including, The Property of the Trustees of the Late Walter, Lord Cunliffe of Headley, The Property of E. J. Willes, Esq., and Various Owners. London, May 23, 1966. NE shilling, lot 154, was purchased by Spink for \$4,340. **Sotheby 1972:** Sotheby & Co. Catalogue of Ancient, English, and Foreign Coins in Gold, Silver, and Bronze Including ... A Small Collection of Early American Containing a Willow Tree Shilling and Other Rare Pieces, the Property of Stanley Woolmer, Esq., ... London, September 28, 1972. Includes NE shilling, lot 162, and Willow Tree shilling (Noe 1-A), lot 163. Plated.

Sotheby 1991: Sotheby & Co. *United States and Foreign Coins.* New York, November 21, 1991.

Springfield 1981: Bowers and Ruddy. **The Springfield Collection**, Part I. Los Angeles, September 22–24, 1981. 104 pp., 2635 lots.

Starr 1992: Stack's. *The Legendary Collection of Floyd T. Starr, United States Coins, Philadel-phia Estate.* New York, October 20–22, 1992.

Stearns 1966: Mayflower Coin Auctions. *The Outstanding Collection of Colonial United States and Canadian Coins formed by Mr. C.H. Stearns of Wakefield, Mass.* Boston, December 2–3, 1966. 99 pp., 1252 lots. Robert Vlack catalogued the Massachusetts silver.

Steinberg 1989: Stack's. *The October Sale*, Part I. *The Gilbert Steinberg Collection of Early American Colonial Coins, Hard Times Tokens and Early Store Cards.* New York, October 17, 1989. Small quarto. 103 pp., 607 lots.

Stickney 1907: H. Chapman. *Catalog of the Celebrated Collection of United States and Foreign Coinsof the Late Matthew Adams Stickney, Esq., Salem, Massachusetts.* Philadelphia, June 25–29, 1907. Quarto. 222 pp., 3026 lots, 22 very fine photographic plates. Plates often have speckling.

Swank 1891: James M. Swank. *A History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages.* 2nd edition. Philadelphia: American Iron and Steel Association, 1891.

Thoresby 1714: Ralph Thoresby. *Ducatus Leodiensis, or, The topography of the ancient and populous town and parish of Leedes, and parts adjacent in the West-Riding of the county of York: with the pedigrees of many of the nobility and gentry, and other matters relating to those parts / extracted from records, original evidences and manuscripts by Ralph Thoresby; to which is added, at the request of several learned persons, a catalogue of his musæum.* London, 1715. The catalog of Thoresby's museum includes his large coin collection. Includes the first reference to Massachusetts silver. Weights and possibly the footnotes were added in the second edition of 1816.

Thoresby 1764: Whiston Bristow. *Musaeum Thoresbyanum. A CATALOGUE Of the genuine and valuable Collection of that well know Antiquarian the late RALPH THORESBY, Gent. F.R.S. Author of DUCATUS LEODIENSIS Consisting of ... London, March 5, 1764. Catalogue keyed to the <i>Ducatus* numbers. Lot 195 is Thoresby's NE shilling, described as a siege piece.

Thoresby 1816: Thomas Dunham Whitaker (ed.). *Ducatus Leodiensis ... the second edition with notes and additions.* Leeds, 1816.

Thoresby 1886: D. H. Atkinson. *Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer: His Town and Times.* Leeds: Walker and Laycock, 1886.

United States Coin 1915: Wayte Raymond. *Catalogue of Splendid Collection of Colonial and United States Coins, Hard Times Tokens, Canadian Coins and Medals.* New York, October 6, 1915. NE shilling, lot 2, is described as Very Fine and from the Cogan sale.

Warner 1884: S. H. & H. Chapman. *Catalogue of the Very Large and Well-Known Collection of ... American Coins and Medals of Thomas Warner Esq., of ...* New York, June 9–14, 1884. 3727 lots, 12 very fine plates.

Watters 1917: Glendining & Co. *The Collection of C. A. Watters, Esq., Liverpool. The Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Collection of Early British, Anglo Saxon and English Coins.* London, May 21–27, 1917. Many pieces from the Philip Nelson collection.

Wyatt 1985: Superior Stamp and Coin Co. *Russel Wyatt and Eudora Bell Collections*. Beverly Hills, September 30–October 1, 1985. 315 pp., 3123 lots.

Vicksburg III 1888: W. Elliot Woodward. *Catalogue of a Collection of Coins & Medals Selected from a Large Cabinet [George Marion Klein] Collected at Vicksburg, Miss. (Part III)...* New York, October 25, 1888. Not noted as plated by Adams. Charles Davis discovered two plates for this sale in 1991. From a Davis copy plate, the author obtained an image of the NE shilling in this collection.

VIP 1981: Amwest Numismatics. *VIP Sale.* Las Vegas, November 19–20, 1981. 87 pp., 1193 lots.

Winsor 1895: S. H. & H. Chapman. *Catalogue of the magnificent collection of coins of the United States: formed by the late Richard B. Winsor, Esq.* ... New York, December 16, 1895. 87 pp., 1353 lots, 10 plates.

Würtzbach 1937: Carl Würtzbach. *Massachusetts Colonial Silver Money.* Lee, MA, 1937. Portrait of the author, 8 printed leaves, errata slip, 4 double-page photographic plates depicting obverses and reverses of eighty-three coins. Carl A. Würtzbach (1864–1947) put together a set of photographic plates of Massachusetts silver coins based on Crosby numbers. He purchased most of his coins from Charles E. Clapp. He was a Massachusetts resident from the western part of the state and president of the Lee National Bank. He was a cousin of Virgil Brand, collected large cents, colonials, and perhaps other series. He donated his Massachusetts coppers to the American Numismatic Society. He died in 1947 and many of his coins, including the large cents, were sold in the Barney Bluestone sale of 1948. Würtzbach was president of the ANA from 1917 to 1919.

Yale 1863: Yale College. Catalogue of the Cabinet of Coins belonging to Yale College, Deposited in the College Library. New Haven: Tuttle, Morehous & Taylor, 1863. NE threepence in the collection of Yale College illustrated with an engraving on the title page.

Zabriskie 1909: H. Chapman. *Catalog of the Collection ... of Captain Andrew C. Zabriskie New York City.* New York, June 3–4, 1909. Quarto (29 x 23cm), 104 pp., 1429 lots, 13 photographic plates.

The 1790 Standish Barry Threepence by R. W. Julian; Logansport, IN

The last issue of *The Colonial Newsletter*, No. 142, carried a well-written article by Max B. Spiegel on the Standish Barry threepence of 1790 (pp. 3499–3520). The present writer noticed that Mr. Spiegel had provided the requisite data and historical background to add a small footnote to the work. In order to understand what happened in 1790, however, it is necessary to look forward to the conditions of the 1850s and 1860s.



In 1857, the Philadelphia Mint began striking a new kind of one cent piece, composed of 88 percent copper and 12 percent nickel. Within a short time the public began to call these new coins "nickels" to distinguish them from the old copper cents. The name stuck and was even applied for a short time to the new bronze cents first struck in April 1864. Congress authorized a three cent coin of 75 percent copper and 25 percent nickel in early 1865 and the name "nickel" was soon transferred to this new coinage. In 1866 the Mint began producing the five

cent piece in the same alloy as the three cent piece and the public promptly began calling these coins "nickels," dropping it for the three cent piece. We still refer to the five cent piece as a "nickel" but this does not really tell us anything except that nickel is one part of the alloy.

The point to be drawn from the preceding discussion is that coin names used by the public do not always mean what they say. A researcher a hundred years hence might well be confused if he found "nickel" being used as a value in 1865, the year before the present five cent piece was first coined. The same general observation is true for coin names used in what is now the United States after the Revolutionary War. In Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey the Spanish dollar had a value of 7 shillings, 6 pence, in local money of account, whereas the actual bullion value in British sterling was only 4 shillings, 6 pence. In New York and North Carolina the milled dollar was rated at 8 shillings, while New England and Virginia valued it at 6 shillings. South Carolina and Georgia rated the milled dollar at 4 shillings, 8 pence, close to the sterling value. Even though the colonies expressed values using the British units of pence, shillings and pounds, British coinage of those denominations rarely circulated in America, except as curiosities. In practical terms the only silver coins seen in the American marketplace were Spanish and included the dollar (8 reales), 4 reales (50 cents), 2 reales (25 cents), 1 real (12.5 cents), half real (6.25 cents), and the quarter real (3.125 cents). The last two named were sometimes referred to as 1/16 and 1/32 of a dollar.

Because Spanish (and later, Mexican) silver circulated widely in the United States until 1857, those who do research in the old newspapers will find prices being quoted at 12.5 (equivalent to 1 real) or 37.5 cents (equivalent to 3 reales) on a regular basis. Such prices are ultimately derived from the Spanish denominations. As late as 1837 only about one-sixth of the silver coins circulating in New York City were products of the Philadelphia Mint; the rest were Spanish or Mexican. In general the American marketplace was reasonably well supplied with the half real and larger coins but the quarter real was seldom seen.

Virtually everyone in a given area of the United States understood the special local terms used for Spanish coins, resulting in little explanation of usage appearing in contemporary literature. One useful exception is the 1794 London book *Letters on Emigration*, an anonymous work of practical advice for those planning to emigrate to the United States. We find on page 42 that a silver "York Shilling" in New York City was rated at 8 to the dollar. This can mean only the Spanish one real, worth 12.5 cents.

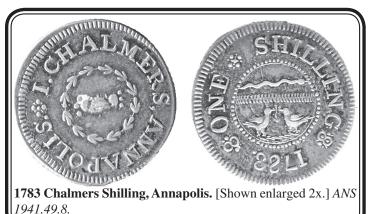


1797 Spanish-American 1/4 Real, Mexico. [Shown enlarged 2x.] *Courtesy of the author.*

While it is true that the dollar was rated at 8 shillings in New York and 7 shillings, 6 pence in Maryland, in practical terms the Maryland shilling was equivalent to the Spanish one real and passed in commerce at its intrinsic value of 12.5 cents despite the slight difference in fictional currency values. Once this is understood, the threepence coinage by Standish Barry in 1790 opens itself up to a fuller understanding.

The English shilling contained 12 pence, which meant that a threepence was a quarter shilling. This in turn indicates that the Maryland "currency" threepence minted by Barry was actually equivalent to the quarter real.

In his Standish Barry article, Mr. Spiegel provides the necessary proof for the above discussion from another perspective. He gives the average of the ten Barry pieces for which weights are known as 12.77 grains (0.83 gram). The average circulating Spanish dollar in 1790 weighed about 27 grams and 1/32 of that (i.e., the quarter real) is 0.84 gram, a close correlation. This information suggests that the quarter real may have been chosen by Barry because that particular denomination was in short supply at Baltimore. It does not tell us when the coins were minted, but one cannot fail to be struck by the odd coincidence of a quarter real value and the "4" of July 4. Barry may have intended the date to be a punning allusion to the value, but this remains speculative.

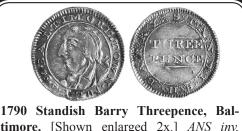


As it is now clear that Barry's threepence was equivalent to the Spanish quarter real, this also opens up a better understanding of the earlier threepence, sixpence, and shilling pieces issued by John Chalmers at Annapolis in 1783. It is therefore likely that the intent of the Chalmers pieces was to correspond to the Spanish system while simultaneously using recognized "currency" denominations.

It should be noted that Phillip Mossman, in *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* (New York, 1993), pp. 199–200, essentially comes to the same conclusion for the Chalmers coinage, though from a different perspective.

Standish Barry Technical Note: Composition of the Threepence by

Max B. Spiegel; Brooklyn, NY

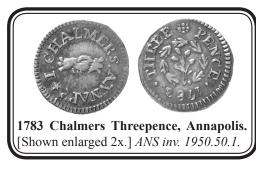


timore. [Shown enlarged 2x.] ANS inv. 1951.13.1.

Modern technological advances have made it possible to determine the composition of a coin through nondestructive methods. At my request, Erik Goldstein, the Curator of Mechanical Arts and Numismatics at Colonial Williamsburg, used an x-ray fluorescence spectrometer to conduct an elemental analysis of the Standish Barry threepence in that institution's collection.1 He found that the Standish Barry threepence is 92% silver, 7% copper, and less than 1% lead, with trace elements of gold. This composition indicates that the Standish Barry threepence were

almost certainly made from melted Spanish-American silver coins.

It is notable that the composition of the Standish Barry threepence differs significantly from that of the Chalmers silver coinage. Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence Spectrometry of the Chalmers coins reveals a silver content of 81 to 86% silver with a ±6% margin of error.2 This is consistent with the composition of Spanish pistareens (authorized at .8333 fine), which were lighter and less fine than their colonial two reales counterpart. Mossman writes that Chalmers would have made a profit because his coins were less fine than the Spanish-American coins in circulation.





Spanish-American eight reales were authorized at 423.9 grains at .9305 fine from 1497 to 1728. Nonetheless, an assay conducted at the Tower Mint in 1626 revealed that the eight reales weighed 420 grains and had a fineness of .9166 silver. In 1728, the weight and fineness of the eight reales were further reduced, to 417.6 grains and .9166, respectively. The fineness was reduced again—and for the last time—in 1772 to .90277 silver.3 Barry likely melted old Spanish-American eight reales to make planchets for his threepence. The

¹ This specimen was graded XF45 by PCGS and was last sold publicly as part of the John L. Roper Collection (Stack's, 12/1983, lot 339.)

² Mossman, p. 199.

³ Mossman, p. 55.

composition is essentially the same as the pre-1772 Spanish colonial coins, which would have been abundant in Maryland. As R. W. Julian points out in this issue of the *Colonial Newsletter*, the weight of the Standish Barry threepence correlates to that of the Spanish quarter real.



Interestingly, the weight and composition of the Standish Barry three-pence correspond to that proposed by Thomas Jefferson in his "Plan for Establishing Uniformity in the Coinage, Weights, and Measures, of the United States," which was dated July 4, 1790—the same date that appears on the threepence. Although there is no record that Barry struck his threepence in response to Jefferson's plan, the connections—weight, composition, and date—are noteworthy. Regardless of the specific impetus

for Barry to strike the threepence, the composition shows that he intended to make a coinage that would circulate at face value. It appears that Barry was not motivated by profit because his threepence had the same weight and composition as the pre-1772 Spanish-American silver coins. Barry likely intended to provide a public service by melting cut, worn, and clipped Spanish-American coins into threepence that would also serve as advertisement for his business.

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⁴ American State Papers: Miscellaneous I:19.

VERMONT COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate I: Landscape Design, 1785–1786 (RR 2 to 8 / Bressett 1-A to 6-E) by

Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario*

Introduction

The first phase of the confederation period copper coinage produced for Vermont (an independent republic until 1791) took place between July 1, 1785, and October 1786. At this time, the right to coin for Vermont was given to Reuben Harmon, Jr., who subcontracted Daniel Van Voorhis and William Coley of New York to cut the dies and strike the coins at the Rupert mint. Until early 1786, Vermont coppers featured the so-called "Landscape Design", which depicts a plow before the Green Mountains at sunrise on the obverse. A radiate Eye of Providence appears on the reverse in imitation of contemporary CONSTELLATIO NOVA coppers. The Latin inscriptions name the "Republic of Vermont" (RES PUBLICA VERMONS or VERMONTIS) or the "Republic of the Vermonters" (VERMONTENSIUM) as the issuing authority and describe Vermont as "the Fourteenth Star" (STELLA QUARTA DECIMA), referring to a desire to join the United States of America. Later in the Fall of 1786, the "Landscape Design" was abandoned in favor of new types imitating the copper coins produced for the state of Connecticut.

The American Numismatic Society's collection of Vermont coppers is not nearly as robust as its Connecticut and New Jersey holdings. Nevertheless, a good selection of the major types and die varieties listed in Hillyer Ryder's "The Colonial Coins of Vermont," in *The State Coinages of New England* (New York, 1920), pp. 63–67; John Richardson's "The Copper Coins of Vermont," *The Numismatist* 5 (1947): 331–354; and Kenneth Bressett's "Vermont Copper Coinage," in E. Newman and R. Doty (eds.), *Studies on Money in Early America* (New York, 1976): 173–198, are represented. The colonial Vermont section of the ANS cabinet more than doubled in 1979, when the estate of Count Alexandre Orlowski donated ten of his coins to fill out the holes in the collection, which presently includes only sixteen specimens in total. Alexandre Orlowski, the expatriate son of the Polish Count Miecislas Orlowski, lived in the Vermont towns of Pittsford and Castleton from 1941 until his death in 1975. It is no doubt during this period, and especially towards the end of his life when he became an antiques dealer, that Orlowski assembled his Vermont copper collection.

Out of the ten coins illustrated on this first plate in a series to fully publish the Vermont copper collection of the ANS, five come from the Orlowski collection (Nos. 2–3, 6, and 9–10). One is from the E. P. Robinson collection, purchased for a cool \$37.50 in the T. J. Elder sale of February 24, 1912 (No. 1) and another was bought from the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University (No. 5). Coin no. 8 was donated to the Society in 1941 by George H. Clapp, who is probably best known for his lavish gift of more than 1500 U.S. large cents to the Society in 1937. In the sequence of RR 2 to 8 and Bressett 1-A to 6-E, the ANS currently lacks an example of RR 7 / Bressett 5-E.

The illustrated specimen of RR 3 / Bressett 2-B (No. 4) is worthy of some special comment as it has been doublestruck in such a way that the reverse legends of each strike have run together to create the odd inscription QUARTA DEIMA STELLA, with the usual C of DECIMA obliterated. The S of STELLA seems almost incuse and the U of PUBLICA is doubled on the obverse.

^{*} The commentary has benefited from discussion with David Hill, Robert Hoge, Louis Jordan, Philip Mossman, Roger Siboni, Gary Trudgen, and Raymond Williams.

Sequential page 3599

Catalog

Obv. VERMONTS. RES. PUBLICA, around. Plow right; in background, sun rising above the Green Mountains; in exergue, ·1785·.

Rev. STELLA. QUARTA. DECIMA ·, around. Eye of Providence surrounded by rays and thirteen stars.

RR 2 / Bressett 1-A

- 1. 27mm, 142.1 grains. ANS 1912.37.2.
- 2. 27mm, 133.4 grains. ANS 1979.124.5.
- 3. 27mm, 125.1 grains. ANS 1979.124.7.

RR 3 / Bressett 2-B

4. 27mm, 107.8 grains. Late die state. Doublestruck so that the DECIMA of the reverse legend reads as DEIMA. ANS 1979.124.6.

Obv. VERMONTIS. RES. PUBLICA, around. Plow right; in background, sun rising above the Green Mountains; in exergue, ·1785·.

Rev. STELLA. QUARTA. DECIMA ·, around. Eye of Providence surrounded by rays and thirteen stars.

RR 4 / Bressett 3-C

- 5. 27mm, 133.7 grains. Graffito on obverse said to be a cancellation mark. ANS 1977.135.216.
- 6. 27mm, 116.5 grains. ANS 1979.124.8.

Obv. VERMONTENSIUM . RES . PUBLICA, around. Plow right; in background, sun rising above the Green Mountains; in exergue, ·1785·.

Rev. STELLA . QUARTA . DECIMA ., around. Eye of Providence surrounded by rays and thirteen stars.

RR 6 / Bressett 4-D

- 7. 27 mm, 122.9 grains. ANS 0000.999.24060.
- 8. 27 mm, 127.3 grains. ANS 1941.131.921.
- 9. 27mm, 131.0 grains. ANS 1979.124.9.

Obv. VERMONTENSIUM·RES·PUBLICA, around. Plow right; in background, sun rising above the Green Mountains; in exergue, ·1786·.

Rev. STELLA . QUARTA . DECIMA ., around. Eye of Providence surrounded by rays and thirteen stars.

RR 7 / Bressett 5-E

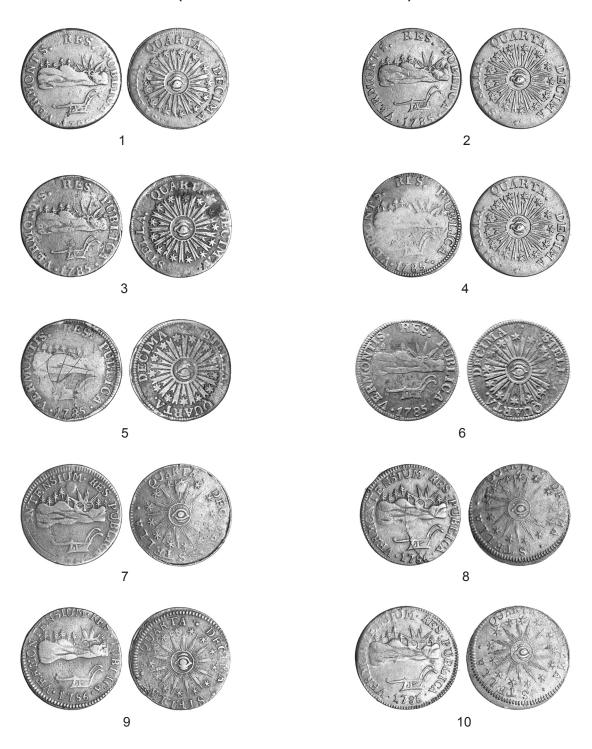
NOT REPRESENTED IN THE ANS COLLECTION.

RR 8 / Bressett 6-E

10. 27mm, 118.9 grains. ANS 1979.124.15.

VERMONT COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate I: Landscape Design, 1785–1786 (RR 2 to 8 / Bressett 1-A to 6-E)



CONNECTICUT COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate I: 1785 (Miller 1-E to 3.4-F.2) by

Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario*

Introduction

The Confederation period copper coinage of the state of Connecticut was legally struck in New Haven by the Company for Coining Coppers from November 12, 1785 to June 1, 1787. From June 1, 1787 to the Fall of 1788, Connecticut coppers continued to be struck by James Jarvis and Company. The types essentially consisted of modified versions of the royal bust obverse and Britannia reverse familiar from contemporary English halfpence. The Latin regal legends were replaced by new ones that identified the coppers as being issued by the authority of Connecticut (AUCTORI CONNEC) and advertised American independence and liberty (INDE ET LIB). This coinage was popular, spawning imitative issues struck for Vermont and numerous illegal counterfeits. The problem of counterfeiting combined with apparent mint irregularities led to a state inquest in January of 1789. On June 20, 1789, the right to produce state coppers for Connecticut was officially terminated.

The collection of Connecticut coppers maintained by the American Numismatic Society may be one of the most complete in existence and contains the vast majority of the die varieties recorded in Henry C. Miller's "The State Coinage of Connecticut," in *The State Coinages of New England* (New York, 1920), pp. 1–62. The Society's Connecticut holdings are so extensive due to two major gifts in the early twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In 1931, the Frederick Canfield collection of Connecticut coppers (285 pieces) was loaned and subsequently donated to the ANS by the New Jersey Historical Society. In 2005, the American Numismatic Society acquired the Connecticut collection of Edward R. Barnsley (1131 pieces) thanks to the generosity of the Colonial Newsletter Foundation.

On this first plate in a series to fully publish the Connecticut copper collection of the ANS, nine out of the ten coins originated in the Canfield collection (Nos. 1–3 and 5–10). These all have their Miller die varieties painted on the obverse, probably by Canfield's hand. One piece (No. 4) belongs to the Barnsley/CNLF gift, but lacks a painted die variety (PDV).

^{*} The commentary has benefited from discussion with Randy Clark, Robert Hoge, David Hill, Louis Jordan, Philip Mossman, Roger Siboni, Gary Trudgen, and Ray Williams.

Catalog

Obv. Legend as indicated. Laureate and mailed bust right, imitating regal halfpence of George III.

Rev. Legend as indicated. Liberty/Columbia/Connecticut seated left on globe, holding olive branch and pole topped by liberty cap; grounded shield with state arms (three grape vines) beside. In exergue, 1785.

All reverse die axes are 6 o'clock.

Miller 1-E

1. 29mm, 130.0 grains. AUCTORI. CONNEC. / INDE. ** ET LIB. ANS 1931.58.47.

Miller 2-A.1

30mm, 131.0 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: ET LIB: ANS 1931.58.410.

Miller 2-A.4

3. 30mm, 153.9 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: ET LIB: ANS 1931.58.411.

Miller 3.1-A.3

4. 29mm, 143.5 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: ET LIB: ANS 2005.37.361.

Miller 3.1-F.3

5. 29mm, 137.3 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: * ET LIB: ANS 1931.58.412.

Miller 3.1-L

6. 29mm, 129.6 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: * ET LIB: ANS 1931.58.413.

Miller 3.2-L

7. 29mm, 143.2 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: * ET LIB: ANS 1931.58.414.

Miller 3.3-F.3

8. 29mm, 155.5 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: * ET LIB: ANS 1931.58.415.

Miller 3.4-F.1

29mm, 146.0 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: * ET LIB: ANS 1931.58.416.

Miller 3.4-F.2

10. 29mm, 137.9 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: * ET LIB: ANS 1931.58.417.

CONNECTICUT COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate I: 1785 (Miller 1-E to 3.4-F.2)



NEW JERSEY COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY Plate I: 1786 (Maris 10-G to 13-J)

by Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario*

Introduction

The partnership of Walter Mould, Thomas Goadsby, and Albion Cox received a two-year contract to produce three million copper coins for the state of New Jersey on June 1, 1786. Their coins carried the obverse type of a horse head and plow derived from the state seal and an American shield on the reverse. The legends give the Latin name of the state (NOVA CÆSAREA) and present the national motto of the United States (E PLURIBUS UNUM) for the first time on any coin. By the Fall of 1786 the partners had fallen into financial disagreement and divided the coinage quota between a mint operated by Goadsby and Cox at Rahway, near Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth), NJ and another operated by Mould near Morristown, NJ. Mould successfully completed his part of the contract by August of 1788, in part thanks to subcontracting the New York coiner John Bailey to assist him. In contrast, production was hampered at Rahway in 1788 by litigation against Cox by both creditors and Goadsby, as well as by seizure of the mint equipment. On June 7, 1788, the remainder of the coining contract and the Rahway mint equipment was awarded to Matthias Ogden, the bond holder for Goadsby and Cox. Despite having access only to dies dated 1786 and 1787, Ogden continued to strike New Jersey coppers until 1790, when the New Jersey state coining project came to an end.

The American Numismatic Society's holdings of New Jersey coppers are extensive, thanks to the New Jersey Historical Society's donation of duplicates from the Frederick Canfield collection (24 pieces) in 1931 and the purchase of a large part of the Harry Prescott Clark Beach collection (829 pieces) from Henry Grünthal in 1945. Grünthal, who had studied numismatics in Germany, later went on to become Assistant to the Chief Curator and Curator of European and Modern Coins at the ANS from 1953 to 1973. Most of the die varieties identified by Edward Maris in *A Historic Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1881) may be found in the ANS collection.

On this first plate in a series to fully publish the New Jersey copper coins belonging to the American Numismatic Society, seven out of ten pieces come from the Beach/Grünthal collection purchase of 1945 (Nos. 1–4, 6, 8, and 10), while an eighth Beach piece (No. 9) was sold to the Society by Grünthal in 1974. One coin (No. 7) originally belonged to the Canfield collection and another (No. 5) lacks provenance information.

^{*} The commentary has benefited from discussion with David Hill, Louis Jordan, Philip Mossman, Robert Hoge, Roger Siboni, and Raymond Williams.

Catalog

Obv. NOVA CÆSAREA, around. Head of horse right, above plow right; in exergue, 1786. *Rev.* *E*PLURIBUS*UNUM*, around. American shield emblazoned with a field of argent, six pales gules, and a chief azure.

All reverse die axes are 12 o'clock.

Maris 10-G

- 1. 31mm, 138.1 grains. ANS 1945.42.640.
- 2. 31mm, 129.3 grains. ANS 1945.42.641.

Maris 11.5-G

3. 28mm, 134.4 grains. ANS 1945.42.643.

Maris 11-H

4. 31mm, 143.2 grains. ANS 1945.42.642.

Maris 12-G

- 5. 28mm, 138.5 grains. ANS 0000.999.28470.
- 6. 28mm, 150.4 grains. ANS 1945.42.644.

Maris 12-I

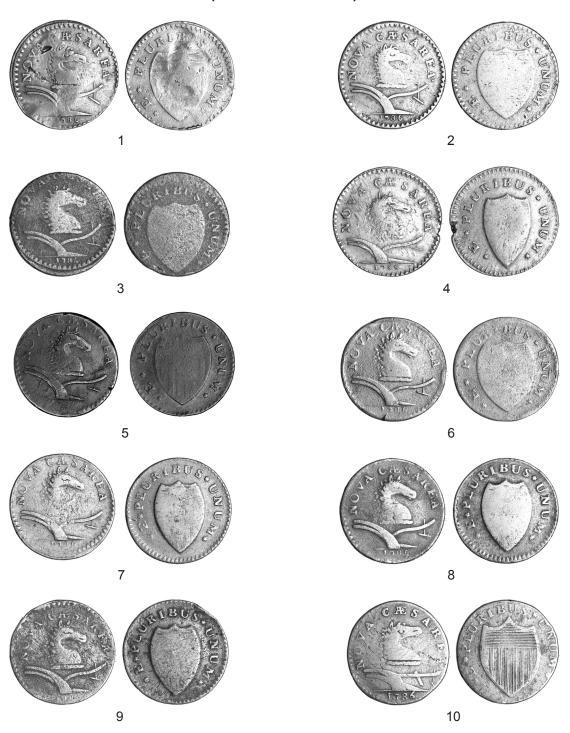
- 7. 28mm, 161.5 grains. ANS 1931.58.504.
- 8. 28mm, 141.9 grains. ANS 1945.42.645.
- 9. 31mm, 143.5 grains. ANS 1974.177.3.

Maris 13-J

10. 28mm, 146.9 grains. ANS 1945.42.646.

NEW JERSEY COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate I: 1786 (Maris 10-G to 13-J)



MASSACHUSETTS CENTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate I: 1787
(Ryder 1-B to 3-G)
by
Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario*

Introduction

Unlike the mint operations of Vermont, Connecticut, and New Jersey, that of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was not licensed to private individuals, but was instead treated as a public project of the state. An Act of October 16, 1786 provided for the building of mint facilities and the production of copper coins under the direction of a Master Workman, a position granted to Capt. Joshua Wetherle of Boston in 1787. The dies of 1787 and early 1788 were executed by the Boston engraver, Joseph Callender. Those of later 1788 were cut by Jacob Perkins of Newburyport after the state decided that Callender's fee was too high. All of the coins are denominated as cents and half cents in accord with a federal resolution of July 6, 1785 that divided the Spanish milled silver dollar into 100 cents. On the obverse they depict a standing Indian derived from the state seal. A displayed eagle with an American shield appears on the reverse in emulation of the Great Seal of the United States, adopted in 1782. Out of respect for the longstanding Puritan aversion to Latin, the legends name the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in English. The coinage came to an end in mid-January of 1789, after the mint's stock of copper was depleted and it was discovered that each coin cost more than double its face value to produce.

The vast majority of the die varieties identified by Hillyer Ryder in "The Copper Coins of Massachusetts," in The State Coinages of New England (New York, 1920), pp. 69-76, can be found in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society. The richness of the collection can be attributed in large part to the purchase of 37 Massachusetts cents and 13 half cents from Carl Würtzbach in 1943 for \$1000. Würtzbach had been the twelfth president of the American Numismatic Association (1917–1919) and wrote several articles on colonial coins and hard times tokens. Seven coins from the Würtzbach collection (Nos. 1–4 and 7–9) appear on this first plate to publish the Massachusetts coppers at the ANS. In addition to these, one piece (No. 5) was a 1955 gift of Mrs. R. Henry Norweb, Sr., an iconic figure in colonial coin collecting and mother of R. Henry Norweb, Jr., the twentieth president of the American Numismatic Society (1990–1994). This coin is notable as the only Norweb state copper ever donated to the ANS. Coin no. 6 was purchased in 1916 along with the rest of the Nelson P. Pehrson collection. Perhson had been an ANS Assistant Curator in 1907 and served as Custodian at the Society's Audobon Terrace location from 1908 to 1910. The last coin on the plate (No. 10) was sold to the ANS by Henry Chapman, the flamboyant Philadelphia coin dealer who made news in 1910 when he paid \$350 for a 1793 large cent.

Several coins on the plate are worthy of special comment. The example of Ryder 1-B (No. 1) is now recognized as a contemporary counterfeit on the basis of style, die axis, lack of die sharing with other official issues, and generally low weights. The ANS specimen is notable for its weight of 149.8 grains, which is high for the variety. Despite its condition, coin no. 2, an example of Ryder 2a-F, is an important piece in the Massachusetts copper series. This variety, which transposes the position of the olive branch and bunch of arrows in the eagle's talons, is

^{*} The commentary has benefited from discussion with David Hill, Louis Jordan, Philip Mossman, Robert Hoge, Michael Packard, Roger Siboni, and Raymond Williams.

widely considered to have served as a prototype for the regular issues of 1787. Coin nos. 3–5 illustrate the development of the die break on reverse die A, known affectionately by collectors as the "Horned Eagle" die break.

Catalog

Obv. COMMON * WEALTH, around. Indian standing left, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right.

Rev. MASSACHUSETTS, around. Eagle displayed, on breast, American shield emblazoned with a field of argent, six pales gules, and a chief azure; incuse CENT on chief (except as noted); olive branch in right talon and bundle of arrows in left (except as noted); in exergue, 1787.

All reverse die axes are 12 o'clock unless otherwise noted.

Ryder 1-B

1. 29mm, 149.8 grains, 1 o'clock die axis. Contemporary counterfeit. ANS 1943.9.14.

Ryder 2a-F

2. 29mm, 153.3 grains. Positions of olive branch and arrows transposed. CENT in raised letters. Thought to be a prototype for the regular coinage. ANS 1943.9.15.

Ryder 2b-A

- 3. 29mm, 155.4 grains. Early die break on eagle's head. ANS 1943.9.16.
- 4. 29mm, 162.9 grains. "Horned Eagle" die break. ANS 1943.9.17.
- 5. 29mm, 160.9 grains. "Horned Eagle" die break. ANS 1955.181.21.

Ryder 2b-C

- 6. 29mm, 161.4 grains. Early die state. ANS 1916.192.364.
- 7. 29mm, 156.0 grains. Early die state. ANS 1943.9.18.
- 8. 29mm, 137.0 grains. Late die state. ANS 1943.9.19.

Ryder 2b-E

9. 29mm, 158.6 grains. ANS 1943.9.20.

Ryder 3-G

10. 29mm, 150.0 grains. ANS 1911.85.4.

MASSACHUSETTS CENTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate I: 1787 (Ryder 1-B to 3-G)

